THE GROWTH OF MUSIC

BY

H. C. COLLES

PART II

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2009 with funding from
Ontario Council of University Libraries

http://www.archive.org/details/p2growthofmusicstu00coll

120

Florette Polley
Stratford Ont

THE GROWTH OF MUSIC

A STUDY IN MUSICAL HISTORY FOR SCHOOLS

BY

H. C. COLLES

PART II

THE AGE OF THE SONATA, FROM C. P. E. BACH TO BEETHOVEN

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY
HUMPHREY MILFORD

SOLE AGENTS FOR CANADA
THE ANGLO-CANADIAN MUSIC CO., TORONTO, ONT.

THE GROWTH OF MUSIC

In three parts, price 3*s*. 6*d*. net each
Complete in one volume, 10*s*. 6*d*. net

PART I. FROM THE TROUBADOURS TO J. S. BACH

PART II. THE AGE OF THE SONATA, FROM C. P. E. BACH TO BEETHOVEN

PART III. IDEALS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

First Published 1913
Reprinted 1919, 1921, 1923, 1926, 1929, 1933

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

PAGE

A Note to Teachers 5

CHAPTER I

A Bird's-eye View: The difference in style between J. S. Bach's Brandenburg concertos and Mozart's Jupiter symphony; the parallel between a symphonic movement and a comedy by Shakespeare; summary of principal musical developments in the eighteenth century . . 9

CHAPTER II

Instruments: The musician's tools; the violin school of Geminiani; Tartini and 'The Devil's Trill'; the evolution of the piano; of the string quartet; of the orchestra . 16

CHAPTER III

The Lives of Haydn and Mozart: Haydn's early life; Mozart's early life; Haydn and Mozart meet; the end of Mozart's career; Haydn's later life 35

CHAPTER IV

Sonata Form: The meaning of the word 'sonata'; the use of vocal methods in sonatas; C. P. E. Bach's harpsichord sonatas; the form applied to the string quartet by Haydn; examples from Haydn's early quartets; the 'second subject'; Haydn and Mozart's uses of sonata form; Mozart's piano sonatas; C. P. E. Bach and Mozart contrasted 57

CHAPTER V

Quartet and Symphony: The lesser contemporaries of Haydn and Mozart; C. P. E. Bach's orchestral symphonies; comparison of Haydn's and Mozart's quartets; Mozart's style in chamber music; Mozart and the orchestra; Mozart's piano concertos; later works of Haydn, the Emperor's Hymn, Paris and Salomon symphonies 79

PAGE

CHAPTER VI

MUSIC, WORDS, AND DRAMA: The choral music of Haydn and Mozart; Pergolese; some principles of opera; Italian and French opera 107

CHAPTER VII

OPERA IN PARIS AND VIENNA: Jean Philippe Rameau; *Castor et Pollux*; Gluck's reform of the opera; the contest with Piccinni; description of *Orfeo*; Gluck's successors; Mozart's operas 118

CHAPTER VIII

BEETHOVEN: Early life at Bonn; removal to study with Haydn in Vienna; early compositions; method and style; summary of life and principal compositions, including a note on *Fidelio* and its overtures; the piano sonatas; Beethoven's codas; slow movements; the *scherzo*; changes in sonata form; the orchestra in the first seven symphonies 140

INDEX OF NAMES 175

A NOTE TO TEACHERS

In this second volume I have followed the same selective principle as that adopted in the first, but the material with which it is concerned has reversed the problem and made it more difficult of solution. Whereas in describing music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the difficulty was often to find examples for discussion which young people would be likely to hear performed, when we come to Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven there is such a mass of things which they are certain to hear sooner or later, and about which teachers might be glad to have some guidance, that it has been hard to know what to pass over. No doubt it will often happen that a teacher who is going to take pupils to a concert will look in vain for some remarks about a particular concerto by Mozart or a quartet by Beethoven with which to interest them in what they are to hear. Such remarks have their specific value, but to have tried to supply them for the majority of well-known works in chamber and orchestral music would have been to turn aside from the main object which this series of volumes sets out to reach.

The object has been to build up a framework of understanding by which students can appreciate the characteristics of the great composers, see how they influenced one another, what outside circumstances affected them, and why it happened that they produced work of one kind or another. When the framework has been raised the place which individual works take in it will become clear, and the experience gained by the study of one work can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to another. So although there is frequent reference to the concert room and what may be heard there, I have drawn most of the examples for special study from works which may be played on the piano either in their original form or in arrangements, and have relied primarily upon that kind of illustration. With a piano, two pianists to

play duets upon it, and a few miniature scores from which to describe the orchestration, it will be possible to give a good general idea of symphonic music. In some cases, too, a pianola or other mechanical contrivance will come in usefully here; indeed these instruments place a most valuable resource at the disposal of students. They are only pernicious when they are used as a substitute for personal musical effort. The ideal way to illustrate is to play passages at the piano while pupils follow in the score, so as to let their eyes supply details which might escape their ears, and *vice versa*. It is very little use to attempt mere paper analysis, which is peculiarly boring to young minds. When works are being studied by sound and sight at once it will be a useful plan to make pupils number the bars in their scores so that attention may be called to any point without waste of time.

Most of the artistic insincerity of the present day comes from the ability to talk about things without actually hearing their effect. For this reason I have purposely avoided the usual tabulated treatment of sonata form. Its principles have been discussed solely in connexion with examples, from C. P. E. Bach to Beethoven, which show it to be continually undergoing change with each accession of material, and so, like the fugue, never able to be defined according to any code of rules. The method may lose something in clearness, but it gains more in truthfulness. Its use may help to dispose of the old superstition which regards sonata form as a sort of magic formula, having mysterious virtues of its own and conferring a special prestige upon composers who write in accordance with it.

For a somewhat similar reason I have ignored the customary division of Beethoven's works into three periods. It is easy to learn the classification and to think that one knows something about Beethoven on the strength of having learnt it. But the first object must be to get some notion of Beethoven's musical character, which remained essentially the same from opus 1 to the ninth symphony, but became more and more strongly delineated as time passed. The distinctions are only valuable when the consistent lines of his personality have been realized.

The question of opera is the most difficult one to deal with. Some teachers may be wise in omitting from their lessons the latter part of Chapter VI and the whole of Chapter VII since pupils who are not likely to have any chance of hearing opera for years to come, if ever, can gain little from them. But if the musical life of this country is ever to develop fully, a definite course of education in opera, comparable to that which is being undertaken in pure music, will have to be established. Opportunities will have to be provided for young people to see the operas which count in the making of artistic history, just as they are now given for them to hear the symphonies, quartets, and sonatas. At present the opportunities are few, but full advantage is not taken of those that exist. Several recent opportunities for hearing the operas of Gluck have been named in the chapter dealing with him, in order to show that it is possible for any one who lives in London at least to scrape an acquaintance with a few of his masterpieces. The position with regard to Mozart is not quite so difficult. *Le Nozze di Figaro* is in the repertory of every travelling company, *Don Giovanni* makes a more or less periodical appearance at Covent Garden, and other works are occasionally given in special seasons. Nevertheless the majority of English people have to get their operatic experience in the reverse of the historical order, forming their acquaintance with opera through Puccini, Wagner, and Verdi, and gradually extending it towards works of an earlier date. With this in view I have assumed a little knowledge of modern opera in order to explain the older opera and to suggest principles which underlie that of every time. It may be worth while to urge here that parents and teachers should encourage the intelligent appreciation of opera by taking young people regularly to the best things available, and to remind those who live in London that now there are from time to time matinée performances at Covent Garden which might become more frequent and include a wider repertory if there were a genuine educational demand for them.

H. C. COLLES.

HAMPSTEAD, *April*, 1913.

CHAPTER I

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

If you compare the first movement of Bach's second Brandenburg concerto, which we took as our last example of him at the end of Part I (p. 156) of this book, or the first movement of the third Brandenburg concerto for strings only, which is more often played at concerts, with the first movement of Mozart's symphony in C called the 'Jupiter' you must be struck by the big difference between them. There is here not only the difference between the minds of two men who naturally express themselves differently, just as no two men, though they speak the same language, will use the same turns of expression and the same tone of voice, but one feels that Bach's concertos and Mozart's symphonies scarcely are the same language. Even when they come near to saying the same thing they say it in such a wholly different way that one exercises one's listening powers in quite another direction when one turns from the concerto to the symphony.

To realize this let us place the first few pages of the F major concerto (Bach) and the C major symphony (Mozart) side by side. They have something in common; each begins with a strong rhythm, and so appeals at once to one of the deepest instincts of human nature, the instinct which we took as our starting-point at the beginning of Part I of this book (see Part I, pp. 9 and 10). It is so strong an instinct that when a composer begins a work by beating out a strong rhythmic pattern he literally makes his audience sit up. They become alert and expectant, and such rhythm is sufficient to excite them even when, as in Mozart's case, it appears stripped of all harmony and without any particular grace of melody.

But now see the difference between the two. Bach is like

a runner out for a long cross-country run. He starts with a strong, easy stride, not putting forward his utmost energy in the first bar, but giving the impression that he has plenty in reserve. When after eight bars the solo violin brings in the second idea of the principal theme it does not check the impetus of the rhythm in order to do so; it merely quickens the excitement a little more, and out of the rhythms begun in the first page of the score the four solo instruments (trumpet, flute, oboe, and violin) and the stringed orchestra shape the whole course of the movement. Look where you will, you cannot find a bar which contradicts the first impulse. This is possible because the first page, simple though its rhythm seemed to be, contained besides the rhythm a number of melodic ideas, each one of which Bach felt when he wrote them could be developed, combined in different ways, and played off against one another, producing all sorts of new situations, now tender, now humorous, or again frankly exulting in strength. Bach more than any other composer reminds one of the Psalmist's description of the sun rejoicing 'as a giant to run his course'.

Mozart, on the other hand, as we have seen, presents his rhythm without any beauty of harmony or grace of melody. The first two bars are merely an emphatic call to attention, and having made his call he breaks off abruptly to introduce quite another idea, a phrase of tender appealing melody played by the first violins and delicately harmonized by the other strings. So the whole basis of his symphony is a direct contrast of ideas. These two are his hero and his heroine, the strong man and the beautiful woman, and for a time they are heard alternately as though speaking in dialogue. Presently a long pause comes (bar 23); then the dialogue is taken up again, but now a third character has appeared. It is a whimsical melody played by the wood-wind instruments rising an octave and then falling down the scale with a ripple of gentle laughter which adds quite a fresh line of interest. After these have had their say another scene opens (key G major) with melodies which at first seem to have nothing to do with what went before; one is just beginning to wonder what the connexion may be when the tune, which for

the sake of illustration we have called the heroine, is heard moving quietly in the lower instruments, and so taking its part in what is going forward. It becomes more insistent, joining with the other figures which now crowd the score until at last the first rhythm of all, our hero, strikes in just at the climax, and, to carry on the dramatic simile, his arrival closes the first act with the cadence and double bar.

Indeed a comedy by Shakespeare, such as *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* or *Twelfth Night*, is a close parallel to this symphony of Mozart. In Shakespeare we get first scenes in which the different characters are outlined separately, then they are drawn together to produce the complications of the plot. In *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Puck making confusion between the pairs of lovers and disturbing with his pranks the actors of 'Pyramus and Thisbe'; in *Twelfth Night*, the complications arising out of the disguise of Viola and the joke at Malvolio's expense; and finally in each comedy come scenes of general explanation and the clearing up of the difficulties. So in Mozart, after the first statement of subjects already described, there comes a period, technically called the **development**, in which the ideas strike across one another, changing from key to key and following out a musical plot of intense interest. In this part of his work Mozart comes nearer to Bach's method than anywhere else, but the great difference is that whereas Mozart is gradually bringing his characters closer together, having shown us their differences first, Bach is gradually moulding his into separate existences from the common rhythmic source in which all share. Finally in Mozart there is what is called the **recapitulation,** in which, like Shakespeare's characters, all the melodies range themselves in their proper order again, all the misunderstandings are cleared away, and all are heard in the principal key of the symphony, C major.

Now that we have realized the big difference between the way in which these two great geniuses worked, we have to look into the history of the time to discover what influences were present to bring about this change in the attitude of the musician towards his art. There is more in it than can be accounted for merely

by saying that Bach and Mozart were men of very different characters and that each expressed his outlook upon life in his music. That is true and accounts for much, but each of these men represents more than himself. Each is typical of the musical thought of a certain time, and when we compare their work we find that the current of thought had changed between the time when Bach wrote the Brandenburg concertos at Köthen, about 1720 (see Part I, p. 155), and the year 1788, when Mozart composed the three greatest of his symphonies, of which the 'Jupiter' is one.

These dates state the distance between Bach and Mozart more fairly than do those of their births and deaths. Bach died in 1750; Mozart was born in 1756, and he was a wonderful child who began to compose as soon as he was old enough to hold a pen. His youthful works came into existence, therefore, only a very few years after the last ones of Bach. But neither Bach's latest compositions nor Mozart's earliest represent their places in the musical history of their time. Bach lived so retired a life after he settled in Leipzig (1723) that his work became separated from the new tendencies which began to stir even in the first half of the eighteenth century, and these tendencies only arrived at maturity in the latest works crowded into the last few years of Mozart's short life. Three years after the 'Jupiter' symphony was written (1791) Mozart died; he was only thirty-five years old, yet his music stands as the pinnacle of the kind of musical thought which was wrought out in the eighteenth century, just as Palestrina's does of that in the sixteenth century. In Mozart's case, however, the achievement is the more amazing, partly because only a few years of life were allotted to him to work in, and partly because music had spread like a great tree into many different branches.

In Palestrina's day the art of making music was like a young sapling growing up straight and true, putting out small branches to the sun, but mostly occupied in developing a single stem, the combination of voices in a beautiful contrapuntal design. The styles of masses and madrigals did not greatly differ, and their means of expression, voices combined without instruments,

were the same. The means with which Mozart and his contemporaries had to work were so many that to try to enumerate them is bewildering. There is the combination of the many different kinds of instruments in the orchestra which we outlined when we were describing the music of Bach and Handel (Part I, p. 132); there are all the different kinds of solo instruments and the many ways of using them together, of which the string quartet (two violins, viola, and violoncello) became the most important at this time; there is the music for single instruments like the harpsichord and piano, and of concertos for solo instruments with the orchestra, to say nothing of voices and of all the possible ways of uniting them with instruments; and lastly there is that most puzzling form of art, the opera, in which not only all musical means but the resources of many other arts are brought together.

Mozart worked at all of these and left his stamp upon each of them in the space of about twenty years of active life. One is staggered at the thought of such many-sided achievement. It seems miraculous if we look at his life by itself, full of difficulty, distress, and disappointment as it was, or even if we study his music apart from its surroundings. Taken in conjunction with what was going on around him, however, we find, as we have already found with men like Palestrina, Bach, and Handel, that much of the ground was prepared for him, so that his genius was set free to move easily, and he had not to puzzle over questions of how to express what he had to say.

We are going to trace out in this part the work and the lives of the principal men who contributed to the main progress of the art which made Mozart's work possible, and to do this we must not merely go forward from the point at which we left off at the end of Part I. We must go back a little and pick up some threads in the story which we left on one side in order to follow up the special work of Bach and Handel, and see what some other men were doing in other directions while these two musical giants were following their own courses. For example, we must see what followed upon the work of the Scarlattis and Corelli in Italy and that of Lully in France. We have already studied

some of the results of the former in Handel's operas and instrumental concertos (Part I, pp. 101, 130 et seq.), of the latter in Purcell's instrumental music (Part I, p. 84), but these show their influences spreading to the great minds of other countries, Germany and England, and the question arises: what was their effect at home in their own natural surroundings?

A number of great players on the violin and composers of music for it flourished in Italy at the beginning of the eighteenth century; some of them actually pupils of Corelli, while others, of whom Tartini was the most important, owed much indirectly to Corelli's example. The composition of operas, too, went on vigorously in Italy, and though that country did not produce many lasting works of art in the direction of opera, it cultivated the art of operatic singing to a surprising extent. We have already hinted (Part I, p. 74) that French opera found a new birth after the death of Lully in the works of J. P. Rameau (born 1683), and from the time when he produced his first opera, 1733—that is to say, when Handel was just beginning his oratorio performances in London (see Part I, p. 105)—Paris became a battle-ground for a series of extraordinary conflicts, in which not only musicians but literary men and artists of all kinds quarrelled desperately as to the best means of presenting opera. A generation later a still greater man, Christoph Willibald Gluck, a German by birth, fought his fight against the supporters of purely Italian opera in Paris (see Part I, pp. 26 and 31), and at the end of the century, even while the terrible political revolution was seething in France, opera was seriously carried on in Paris by the works of Grétry and Méhul.

So great was the commotion caused by the operatic struggles of Paris that we might easily make the mistake of supposing them to be the chief business of music at this time, and imagine Paris to be the centre of European musical life. But keeping Mozart before us as the man who summed up the highest achievements of the time in his own music, we find that he was little affected by these doings. Their very nature prevented them from having any influence upon his development of the symphony which we have taken to be the culminating triumph of his career,

and the greater part of Mozart's operas might, one feels, have come into existence much as they stand even if Gluck had never fought his famous battle for the freedom of dramatic expression in music. Gluck was really before his time, and the benefits which he won have only been fully realized in the nineteenth century, so that though we shall describe what he did in this part, we cannot truly estimate him until we come to study the German opera of the nineteenth century, and particularly the work of Richard Wagner.

Meantime we must look elsewhere for the mainspring of those developments which made possible the 'Jupiter' symphony and its companions, and we shall find it in and around Vienna, the Austrian capital, which was also Gluck's musical home.

In tracing the growth of music it is very interesting to notice how the centre of activity changes from country to country at different times. In the seventeenth century most of the big events sprang from Italy; next we saw music spreading through the central states of Germany and reaching its culmination in the works of J. S. Bach, and now a movement begun by Bach's own son, Carl Philipp Emanuel, who lived in the north (Hamburg and Berlin), was carried south and brought to fulfilment in the string quartets, orchestral symphonies, and other works of Joseph Haydn and Mozart.

Nor did it even stop with them, for the greatest musician the world has seen, Ludwig van Beethoven, inherited their way of composition, and some description of his tremendous personality, and of the way in which that personality dominated all that he learnt from them, must end this part of our story. In the third part we shall try to gain a notion of how Beethoven opened up a fresh vista of possibilities to the musicians of the nineteenth century, so that he proved himself to be both a Palestrina and a Monteverde, a man great enough to bring one kind of thought to perfection and then to show the road which lies beyond its limitations.

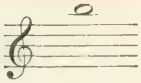
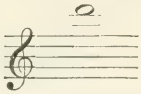
CHAPTER II

INSTRUMENTS

INSTRUMENTS, such as the violin and the piano, are the musician's tools, just as the hammer and the saw are the tools of the carpenter. It generally happens that people invent their tools in the course of their work. For example, thousands of years ago, when men were just beginning to learn to build, they would break a stone by knocking it with a heavier stone. Next they found that quite a light stone could break a heavy one if it was fixed on to the end of a strong piece of wood held in the hand, and so they made a hammer. Similarly some one must have discovered that a piece of iron with a rough edge could cut through wood better than a piece with a smooth edge, and so the saw was invented. But neither the hammer nor the saw was invented because a man set out to make a hammer or a saw, but because he wanted to make something else and found that the hammer and saw would help him to do what he wanted to do. It is just the same with musical instruments. The different ways of making them were discovered in the course of making music ; a man would find that he could make better music than had been made before, either by altering his instrument in some detail or by using it in a different way.

THE VIOLIN

The violin, for example, which is one of the simplest and most perfect of instruments, was gradually shaped into its present form by people who found that certain kinds of wood produced a more beautiful sound than other kinds, that a narrow neck with only four strings could be fingered more nimbly by the player than a thick one with six strings, such as the older viols had (see

Part I, p. 27), and that an instrument with thin ribs could be held more conveniently by the player's chin than the viols with thick ribs could be. By the time that Corelli (see Part I, p. 60) lived the best form for the violin was fairly decided upon, but even that great man did not find out all the best ways of using it by any means. For example, he did not use the highest notes of the instrument at all. All the high notes above B  are produced by shifting the left hand along the finger-board and stopping the string with the fingers, so that the vibrating part of it becomes shorter and shorter till at last there is only an inch or two left to vibrate, like the very short strings which make the high notes on the piano. Corelli only shifted his hand a little way, generally to what is known as the third position, so that he hardly used the notes above D  at all. Later violinists, some of them Corelli's own pupils, found that by altering their way of holding the violin they could reach all these high notes without difficulty, that they could play much more rapidly, and use the bow in the right hand much more freely.

One of the most important changes was recommended by Geminiani (1680–1761), a pupil of Corelli, who published a book called *The Art of Playing on the Violin* in 1740. This change was simply that the player should hold his violin on the left side of the tailpiece instead of on the right side. If you take a violin and try to hold it in both ways, you will realize at once what a difference that makes. Holding it on the right side the violin is almost flat. You have to raise the right arm very high in order to reach the G string at all, and you have to bring the left arm round in a very awkward way in order to use the high notes on the first, or E string. But holding it on the left brings the violin to an angle which is much more practicable for the work which both arms have to do, and so is much less tiring. It was, therefore, a most important step forward in improving

the technique of the violin, for it served to place all four strings equally at the command of the bow, and all parts of the strings equally at the command of the left hand.

Geminiani was a most successful teacher, and it is chiefly for what he taught that he is worth remembering now. He was a very great player, and he composed a large quantity of music for the violin; but though you may sometimes hear one of his sonatas played, his actual music is not very important in the history of the art, for it was mostly designed to show how well the instrument could be played, and so was apt to be like the carpentering of a boy who has just got a new set of tools and is more interested in cutting up wood than in making boxes or other useful things. It is a difference which one often finds between the great composers of music, who may, like Corelli and Bach, be great players as well, and the men who merely compose because they happen to be clever players.

Another great violinist who was a much more striking composer than Geminiani was GUISEPPE TARTINI (1692–1770). He was not a pupil of Corelli, in fact he is generally looked upon as a sort of rival, for he founded a separate school of violin-playing, which set a different ideal before its pupils and cultivated a different style. This difference of ideal is best understood if we contrast Tartini's most famous composition, the 'Trillo del Diavolo' sonata (Devil's Trill sonata), with Corelli's sonatas. It is a work which every one who goes to concerts may hear, for all the great violinists of the present day play it constantly. In its general shape, its division into four movements alternately slow and quick, even the binary (twofold) form of the first two movements (see Part I, p. 61), it follows the general plan which Corelli had made usual in violin sonatas, but there the likeness ends. The stuff of which the music is made is something quite different.

Corelli delighted in inventing graceful and beautiful ideas and then setting them out in a perfectly organized pattern, making the second part balance the first, so that the hearer takes pleasure in the feeling of orderliness which the whole movement gives. Tartini knew that there must be a certain

amount of orderliness or arrangement in the plan of any good music, but he was not primarily interested in that. He cared more to make every phrase express the ideas which his mind held. He wanted to make people think and feel what he thought and felt, to hold them spellbound by the chain of his own vivid imagination.

He told a story about this particular sonata which, even supposing that he made it up after or while he was writing, shows the fanciful working of his keen brain. The story goes that one night he had a dream. The Devil appeared to him and offered to do anything he commanded. Among other things Tartini handed his violin to the Devil and told him to play upon it, whereupon he played a sonata of such wonderful beauty that it surpassed all music which Tartini had ever heard or made. As soon as he awoke, he said, he strove to reproduce the music which he had heard, but he was conscious that what he composed could only dimly reflect the marvels of what he had heard in his dream. The part about the Devil does not very much matter except that Tartini took him, as many other artists from Milton to Goethe have done, as typical of everything which is powerful and lawless and independent. But the important and real thing in the story is that Tartini looked upon his music as an attempt to express something far bigger and grander than could be conveyed by the notes which he wrote. It was not enough for him that the movement should be carefully balanced and rounded off; every detail had to be eloquent and expressive. He made the last two movements, *Grave* and *Allegro*, alternate with one another so as to get a direct contrast of mood (cf. Beethoven, p. 166), and further his conviction spurred him on to the discovery of new kinds of violin passage. The trills or shakes in the last movement, the passages of double-stopping (i.e. playing with the bow on two strings at once), the brilliant scales, and other ornaments, are not merely there to show off how clever the player is; they have a purpose beyond that, they are devised to stamp the work with the composer's individuality.

It is with the bow that the violinist gets expression from his

music, and consequently it was in the method of using the bow that Tartini most advanced the technique of the violin. His work called 'L'Arte dell' arco' (The Art of Bowing) consists of fifty variations upon a gigue by Corelli, and was written to show the many ways in which varieties of phrasing could be got by different styles of bowing. There is also a famous letter which he wrote to one of his pupils in which he shows how all grades of tone from very soft to very loud may be obtained by altering the pressure of the bow upon the string.

This question of expression in violin-playing was very important to the whole advance of music in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, because at that time the stringed instruments, of which the violin was the chief, were the only ones which could deal with it successfully. In the music of Bach and Handel we find very few directions about expression beyond the broad distinction *forte* or *piano*, loud or soft.[1] The wind instruments were not capable of making any other distinction, and the harpsichord, which took the place now held by the piano, was not sensitive to the player's touch (see Part I, p. 146). On the other hand, the clavichord which had this important capacity was too weak for public use. Only the violin and its companions of the stringed instruments, therefore, could cultivate the sense of intimate musical expression and spur on the players and makers of other instruments to discover ways of producing expressive music by their means.

The Pianoforte

In the birth and development of the pianoforte during the eighteenth century we get the most striking instance of the need for musical expression gradually finding the right tool with which to produce it. It may seem at first sight as though the instrument came into existence before the need was felt, because it is a well-known fact that J. S. Bach, the greatest musician of the time, thought poorly of the new pianofortes which King

[1] The majority of the marks of expression, degrees of tone, and manners of phrasing, found in modern editions of Bach, Handel, and their contemporaries, are merely supplied as suggestions by editors.

Frederick the Great showed him when he went to Potsdam (see Part I, p. 100). Not only this, but his son, Carl Philipp Emanuel, who spent much of his life at the court of Frederick, and who, after his father, was the greatest writer of music for keyed instruments, always preferred the harpsichord to the piano. But we have to remember that a mind used by long practice to getting the very best results from one kind of instrument does not readily feel the need of any other. As a bad workman proverbially complains of his tools, so a superlatively good workman will sometimes prefer an imperfect tool to which he is accustomed. Moreover, the new pianofortes which the elder Bach tried were anything but perfect; they were only the idea of the pianoforte in the rough.

Even Mozart was brought up as a harpsichord player, and until the year 1777 when he happened to come across some of the latest pianos of the maker Stein, at Augsburg, he did not realize what new possibilities of expression they opened for the musician. Long before that date, however, other musicians had felt the need of an instrument which would respond to the pressure of the finger as the violin responds to the pressure of the bow, and it is noteworthy that the first attempts at one were made in Italy just at the time when Corelli's school of violin-playing was coming into prominence, that is to say, at the beginning of the century.

A harpsichord-maker of Florence, named Bartolomeo Cristofori, invented the pianoforte, or 'fortepiano' as it was often called at first, that is to say, an instrument which could play both loud and soft; and some of his instruments were to be found in the house of Ferdinand de Medici at Florence in 1709. As Ferdinand patronized Handel when he made his youthful visit to Italy (see Part I, p. 101), we can have very little doubt that Handel then became acquainted with the new instrument, but probably he was not much impressed by it. At any rate he made no use of it later.

The main difference between the harpsichord and these pianofortes was that the strings of the latter were struck by hammers (those of the former were plucked by quills), so that the degree of tone depended directly upon the amount of force used by

the finger in striking the key. And the main difference between them and the clavichord was that the striking hammer was not a part of the key itself as was the tangent of the clavichord (see Part I, p. 146). The tangent of the clavichord was just pushed against the string and remained touching it as long as the player's finger remained on the key. That accounted for the feebleness of the sound. But Cristofori's hammers rebounded off the strings, leaving them free to go on vibrating as those of the modern piano do, and so the sound was much fuller and richer.

But this produced several difficulties. In the first place, if the string is free to go on sounding, it will continue after the finger has been taken off the key, so that if you play a scale, all the notes will be sounding together at the end of it. You may easily prove this by playing a scale on the piano and holding down the pedal on the right. Not only do the notes of the scale create a jumble of sound, but the other strings vibrate in sympathy with them. So besides a hammer to make the note there had to be a 'damper' to stop it, a piece of soft cloth which came in contact with the string at the moment when the finger was lifted from the key. Cristofori had discovered this, and his earliest pianos had dampers. Then another requirement was a piece of mechanism to check the rebound of the hammer lest it should touch the key a second time with the force of one blow. Cristofori also devised this 'check', but only in his later specimens. His pianos were all shaped like the harpsichords, roughly speaking the shape of the modern grand pianos.

Other difficulties which had to be met came from the fact that it was necessary to use thicker strings and to stretch them at greater tension when they were to be struck by hammers than when they were to be plucked by quills. This meant the use of a stronger framework, leading eventually to the huge steel frames on which modern pianos are built. The question of how to make the most resonant sound-board, which is to the piano what the 'belly' is to the violin, was the subject of further experiment.

These things are mentioned merely to give a faint suggestion of

the numerous questions which had to be solved before Cristofori's invention could be of practical service to artists. Many of them could not be settled finally until the nineteenth century; and even the use of pedals to raise the dampers was not attempted until 1783, when it was the invention of a maker named Stodart. The early actions controlling the hammers, dampers, and 'checks' were naturally imperfect; they gave an uneven touch and were very apt to stick.

It is not surprising then if some men thought the early pianos a clumsy substitute for the simpler and older instruments, and it is obvious that no great school of composition for the piano could come into existence until the preliminary difficulties of construction were cleared away. No ardent romantic spirit could find expression through the keys of the piano as Tartini did through his bow upon the violin until many years later, but when it was ready other features of musical art had been advanced much further than they were in Tartini's day, so that eventually in the sonatas of Beethoven and in the music of Schumann, Chopin, and many others the piano became the vehicle for a wealth of romantic expression which almost eclipses that of Tartini.

The String Quartet

The backward state of the piano as a means of expression and the comparatively unsympathetic character of the harpsichord, and even of the organ, had, however, one good result; it forced composers to express their finest musical ideas through several instruments in combination instead of through one alone. The violin was perfect for melody, but obviously imperfect for harmony. It needed Bach's astounding genius even to suggest harmony and polyphony upon the four strings of a single violin (see Part I, p. 153), but many composers from Purcell's day onwards (see Part I, p. 86) wrote sonatas for two or three stringed instruments together, with or without harpsichord accompaniment. Two violins and a bass (violoncello) was a common choice, the violins playing a duet on equal terms, using similar figures of

rhythm, and imitating one another, and the violoncello supplying a prosaic groundwork to the harmony.

Most of the great violinist composers wrote works in this style, but as the larger members of the violin family, the viola and violoncello, became better understood by players, a means of improvement became apparent. A fine player on the violoncello nowadays finds these sonatas dull work, although the violinists find plenty to interest them in their parts. The technique of playing on the violoncello was altogether in a backward state. There were no great solo players upon it in the time of Corelli, and it was not until a Frenchman, Duport (born 1749), published an essay on the subject quite late in the eighteenth century, that such elementary matters as the best method of fingering and of holding the bow became settled once and for all. It was indeed high time that they should be settled, that the violoncello might take its place as the equal of the violin, for by the time that Duport's essay made its appearance composers were demanding great things of the violoncello. Joseph Haydn had written his early string quartets.

The invention of the string quartet was the great improvement upon the old sonatas for strings which has been referred to above. Haydn was not the first person to write a string quartet, but he was the man who made it into a great means of musical expression. It was he who discovered the infinite capacity of four solo stringed instruments of the same quality of tone playing together on equal terms.

The viola, which fills the space between the violins and the violoncello in the quartet, had long been in use in the orchestra. We have already met it in the scores of Handel, Bach, and earlier composers, but several reasons prevailed to keep it in a state of subjection. It is a larger instrument than the violin, but held in the same way between the chin and the left hand. Consequently it is more clumsy to handle, and until the technique of the violin was fairly advanced it seemed impossible to get much music out of the viola. Moreover, there was a good deal of difficulty in determining the size of the instrument, for the ones which produced the best tone with the strings tuned a fifth below

those of the violin were altogether too big to be held violin-wise except by a player with unusually long arms. The difficulty led to a convenient compromise in favour of an instrument which is really too small to produce the best effect as a solo instrument, but still fills the place of a tenor violin in the quartet effectively.

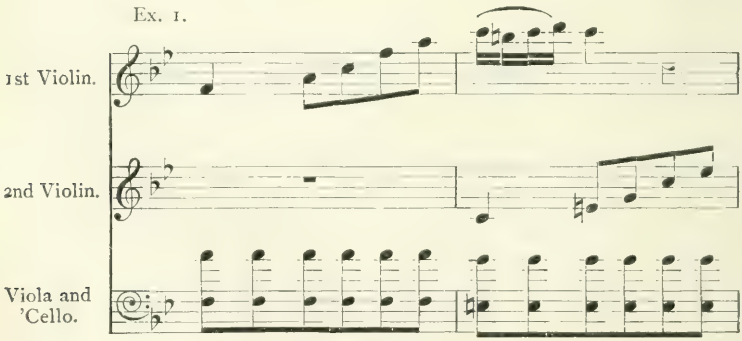
We have seen how the homophonic style of harmony (Part I, pp. 12, 130) made the middle parts between the tune and the bass which supported it comparatively unimportant, and it followed from this view of music that the middle instruments of the orchestra, and the viola in particular, rarely had anything of great distinction to play. The birth of the string quartet improved its position. While it was buried amongst a number of instruments, and while the middle harmonies were filled up on the harpsichord or organ, composers could neglect it. But when it became one of four solo players much greater work had to be required from it. A quartet, like a racing boat, cannot afford to carry any passengers. The quartet had to be considered as a single instrument fully equipped in each of its parts, each member of it ready to contribute to the expression of the whole by becoming at any moment the leader.

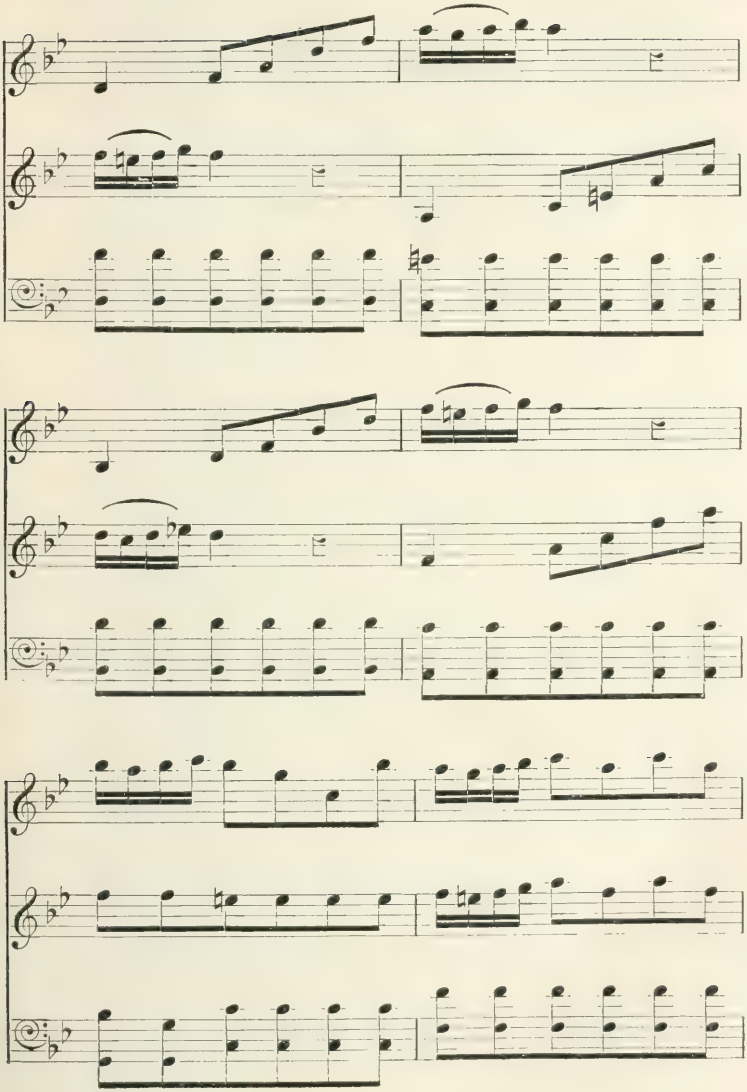
Let us trace the development of the quartet as an instrument by a few examples from Haydn's early works. The long series of his quartets began when he was a young man of about twenty-three years of age and received a most fortunate invitation to visit a certain Viennese gentleman at his country-house at Weinzirl (see Part II, p. 38). It was customary for musical amateurs who could afford to do so to keep a small private orchestra of a few stringed and still fewer wind players, and Haydn found such an orchestra at Weinzirl and spent his time in writing music for it. Often these orchestras were so small that the modern distinction between concerted chamber-music and orchestral music could not be applied. There might, or might not be two or three players to each part. A complete set of strings and a few wind instruments were all the essentials, and it seems probable that Haydn wrote most of these works for strings only merely because the wind players were not very

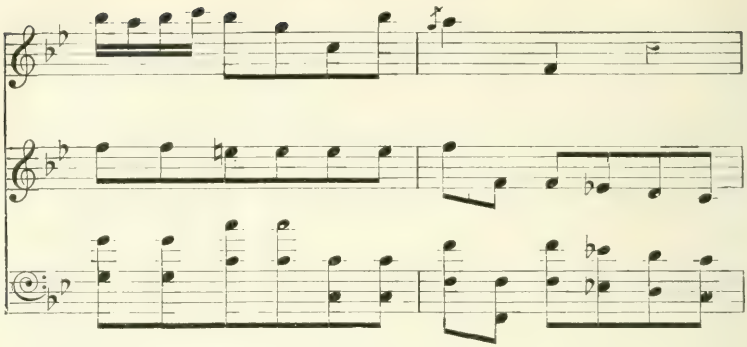
efficient, and he preferred to dispense with their help. Probably it was a matter of indifference to him whether his first quartets were played by four players or by more, the additional players doubling the parts. He wrote eighteen such works there (now published as Opp. 1–3, i.e. three sets of six), and among them there is one (Op. 1, No. 5, in B flat) which originally had wind parts and ought therefore to be considered as his first symphony.

Any page of this work would illustrate the fact that the two violins have all the fun to themselves; the violoncello supplies an harmonic bass, the viola often plays in octaves with the violoncello or in thirds or tenths above it, and just occasionally, as if for a treat, it is allowed to play some more important figure in thirds or sixths with the second violin. But it never has anything to say which is quite all its own. The general style is well shown in the following example from the middle of the first movement, where the two violins toss a fragment of the first theme playfully from one to the other while the two lower instruments trudge steadily along with repeated quavers, which are necessary to the harmony, but have no interest of their own.

Ex. 1.



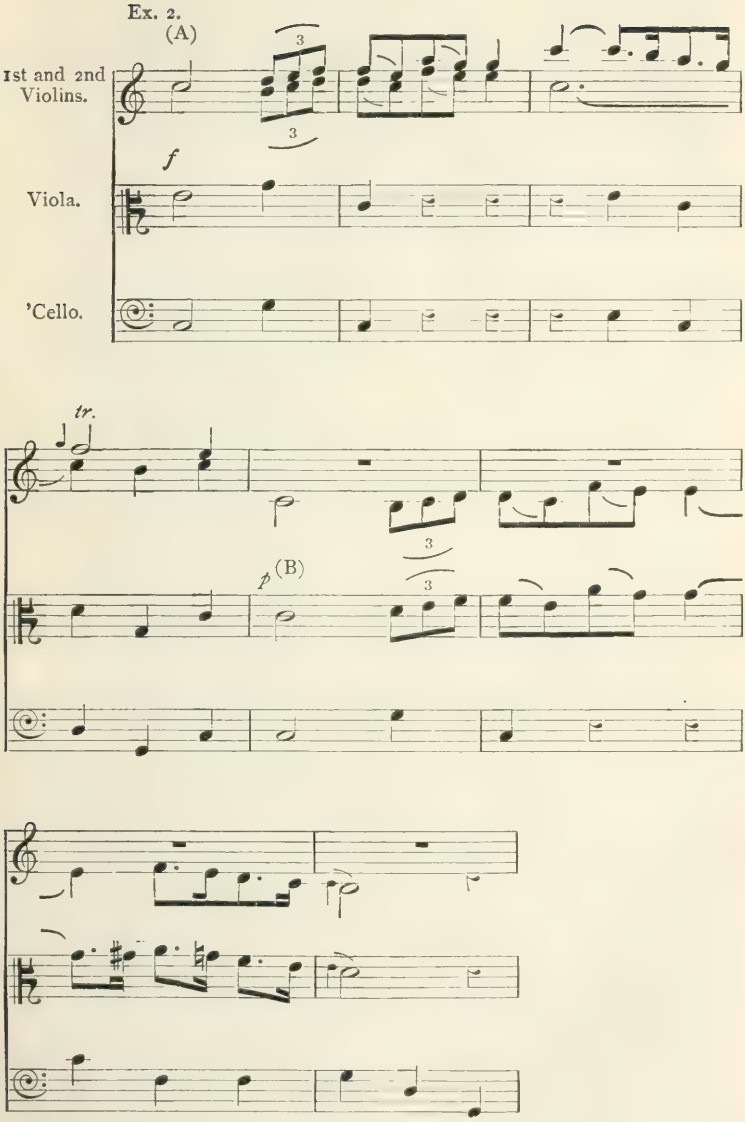




It might just as well have been written for two violins, bass, and harpsichord.

But in those works written for strings only, and which may therefore truly be called quartets, Haydn quickly began to make experiments which brought the true character of each instrument into prominence. When he denied himself the use of wind instruments he naturally began to seek for ways of getting variety of tone from the strings to compensate for the loss of that variety which oboes and horns give. One of the first things he must have realized was that the viola has a richer and ' reedier ' tone than the violin, a tone more like that of the oboe on its middle notes. Consequently he began to use that tone as a point of contrast with the violin. Here (Ex. 2) is an extract from the minuet in C (Op. 1, No. 6, second movement), where the violins give out a melody (A), repeated by the viola (B), with the second violin playing below it as an accompaniment. As far as the compass of the instruments is concerned, he might just as well have set the viola to play the accompaniment while the second violin played the tune (B) above it. But he wanted the contrast of tone, or ' colour ' as it is often called, which was to be got by the sombre viola echoing the bright first violin.

Ex. 2.



And now, to give one further example which contrasts with that taken from the symphony in B flat (Op. 1, No. 5), look at these few bars of the quartet in A (Op. 3, No. 6), where the viola and violoncello assert their freedom by repeating a fragment of the chief tune originally started by the two violins, while the first violin adds a new counterpoint above, and the second violin accompanies in syncopated crotchets.

Ex. 3.

1st and 2nd Violins.

Viola and 'Cello.

The point of view has changed from the idea of a solo or duet accompanied by lower instruments to something more like that of the polyphonic writers for voices in which each one may at any moment take the lead. Haydn's quartet is a small commonwealth and not a monarchy.

He carried his development of style considerably farther in his later years, but we may leave it for the moment with a single reference to one work written fourteen years later (1765), the delightful quartet in D minor (Op. 42). Its finale actually has many of the qualities of a fugue (see Part I, p. 128). The strongly marked subject, with its two long notes descending a fourth

and followed by a lively little figure in quicker notes, is played by each instrument in turn, and bandied about between them with complete freedom. The subject itself has a likeness to that of Handel's violin and harpsichord sonata in A (Part I, p. 131, Ex. 29), but its feeling is lighter and more gay. We saw how Handel was feeling after a polyphonic style even when the means at his disposal were one violin and a harpsichord bass. Haydn gradually reached it through his discovery that the string quartet, which he began by using homophonically, was perfectly adapted to the freer method. The two movements are worth comparing.

At the moment, however, we are primarily concerned with instruments, and this peep into Haydn's early quartets is taken to show how he chose out the four stringed instruments from a country orchestra and made them virtually into a new instrument, having a new kind of music all its own, and one of the most beautiful kinds which the wit of man has ever devised.

The Orchestra

We must end this chapter with a few general remarks about that larger instrument from which the quartet sprang, the orchestra.

All the most important developments of the orchestra up to this time had treated it as an accessory to other things. We have seen Monteverde bringing together a large orchestra as a means of illustrating the ideas of his operas (Part I, p. 27), Alessandro Scarlatti and other operatic composers using it principally to accompany the singers, Corelli and other violinists adopting it as a background to solo instrumental performances, Handel and Bach following the same method in their concertos and adapting its operatic use to their oratorios, Passion music, and cantatas. Now in the hands of such men as Haydn and Mozart it was to inherit a life of its own, and, like the quartet, become an instrument, no longer a servant, but an independent citizen.

In their orchestral music, symphonies, serenades, divertimenti,

and cassations (the titles, except the first, are not of great importance), they used the instruments which they found at their disposal, as Haydn did those which he found on his visit to Weinzirl, and as they were often writing either for the private orchestra of some rich patron of the arts, a prince or archbishop, they had, as the saying goes, to cut their coat according to their cloth. The coarser wind instruments like the trumpets and trombones would not be found in orchestras of the *salon*, and indeed, would not blend well with the small bodies of strings retained in these orchestras. The softer horns, which Handel only used for special effects in his theatre orchestra (see Part I, p. 133), imperfect though they were, would take the place of brass instruments more satisfactorily. Trombones and trumpets therefore, generally speaking, retired temporarily from the orchestra, and where the latter are found there is no such brilliant writing for them as we saw in Bach's second Brandenburg concerto. Oboes and bassoons were fairly established as the basis of the wood-wind; flutes, because of their soft and beautiful quality, took their places more regularly in the latter part of the century; and at last one more instrument, and the loveliest, was added to this group.

This was the clarinet, a wooden wind instrument in general appearance not unlike the oboe, but quite different in its construction and in its musical effect. It would be futile to try to explain the technical difference without practical illustration, but it may be said that the clarinet is played through a mouthpiece fitted with a single reed; the oboe has a double reed. It is more important to know the difference in sound between the two, and that is still more impossible to explain in words than the difference of construction. The clarinet has the smoother and more liquid tone and a larger compass, which is particularly rich on the lower notes extending to E below 'fiddle G'.

It was known and apparently used for military music long before its introduction into the orchestra. A Viennese maker invented it in 1690. But it was at Mannheim on the Rhine that the clarinet became famous in the orchestra, and its world-wide fame began with the accident of its being heard there by Mozart

on one of his youthful journeys (see Part II, p. 47). The Court Band of the Elector Palatine was one of the few great orchestras of the day. Its celebrity dated from the time when Stamitz, a famous violinist, was appointed as its leader in 1745, that is the year in which Handel composed *Judas Maccabaeus* to celebrate the battle of Culloden (see Part I, p. 106). The latter event is mentioned here merely to recall the fact that the dates which mark musical progress lie very close beside one another. It was only thirty-two years later that Mozart, charmed by the performance of the orchestra, and particularly by the clarinets, wrote a full account of it to his father. He spoke of ten or eleven violins ' on each side ' (probably meaning that the total was ten or eleven, and that they were divided into firsts and seconds, sitting on each side of the conductor as in most modern orchestras), four violas, four violoncellos, and four double-basses. The last named, the biggest kind of fiddle in use, generally played the same music as the violoncellos, but sounded an octave lower. The double-basses were, of course, too heavy to be suitable for chamber music such as the quartet, but are quite essential to give a good deep bass to the orchestra in which are so many treble instruments.

Mozart's list of the instruments at Mannheim speaks of two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, four bassoons, and two horns. The greater number of bassoons would be due to a feeling that more bass was needed since all the other wood-wind were treble instruments. He also mentions trumpets and drums placed on separate platforms, so that they were evidently treated as extra instruments.

The whole plan serves to show that the ideal of orchestration had changed since the days of Handel and Bach. The players were no longer treated as separate individuals, a certain number of whom might be chosen to play in this movement or in that. They were now rather parts of a great whole, closely combined and dependent upon one another, each one ready to give the right *timbre* or tint of tone at any moment, no one holding the position of supremacy for long. The idea may be made clear by contrast with Handel's orchestration (Part I, p. 134), or Bach's (Part I,

p. 153), and we shall discuss it in greater detail in connexion with the symphonies of Haydn and Mozart (Part II, pp. 90 and 99). We have given a sketch of the chief tools with which these great artists worked, and we may turn now to their lives to see what opportunities they had for using them and with what difficulties they had to contend.

ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER II

[The greater part of this chapter cannot be illustrated without the help of some other instruments than the piano, but in schools where the help of a violin teacher can be secured, a good deal may be done.]

1. Show the different effects of holding the violin on the right and left sides of the tail-piece.

2. Play movements from TARTINI's sonatas (Peters edition, 1099 *a–c*, 3 vols., 1*s*. 8*d*. each).

e.g. (*a*) 'The Devil's Trill.'

(*b*) The last movement of sonata in G minor, called 'Dido abbandonata' (a simpler but very beautiful movement in the same volume).

3. Play examples of other eighteenth-century composers.

e.g. (*a*) LECLAIR, Sarabande and Tambourin (Peters edition, 2730, 1*s*. 1*d*.).

(*b*) PUGNANI, sonata (Breitkopf and Härtel, popular edition, 3225, 3*s*. 3*d*.).

[Leclair (b. 1697) and Pugnani (b. 1727) were both of the school of Corelli, though not directly his pupils.]

(*c*) NARDINI, two sonatas (Peters edition, 2476, 1*s*. 8*d*.).

[Nardini (b. 1722) was a pupil of Tartini.]

(*d*) GEMINIANI, sonata in C minor (Breitkopf and Härtel, 1*s*. 4*d*.); sonata in B minor (Breitkopf and Härtel, 3*s*.).

4. Show the action of the modern piano to illustrate its capacity for expression which the harpsichord lacked.

5. Play examples from Haydn's early quartets on the piano to illustrate his rapid advance in the independent use of the viola and the violoncello.

6. Point out the various instruments of the orchestra *before* a concert begins.

CHAPTER III

THE LIVES OF HAYDN AND MOZART

In an earlier part of our story we found two great men born in the same year in towns of central Germany not far from one another ; but they never met, and their lives presented a strong contrast both in their circumstances and in the kind of music which each produced (see Part I, chap. iv, ' The Lives of Handel and Bach '). The pair whose names head this chapter give us a contrast of another kind. Haydn was a young man twenty-four years old by the time that Mozart was born, and not only did Mozart get acquainted with Haydn's compositions and admire them and learn much from them, but the two men met personally and each had the strongest respect for the other. Moreover, curiously enough, Haydn outlived Mozart by eighteen years, and in that time profited by what Mozart had done to advance the growth of the art, so that in a sense the elder man was both the master and the pupil of the younger.

In other matters, besides the fact that one had a long life and the other a short one, their careers were very different.

Haydn's Early Life

Joseph Haydn was born on March 31, 1732, at Rohrau, a little village near to Pressburg, almost on the border-line between Lower Austria and Hungary. In mentioning his birth-place we change our scene of action and visit a country which hitherto we have hardly named. The map at the end of Part I showed Vienna away to the south-east of those regions which were regarded as the mainsprings of music because they gave us both Handel and Bach, but meantime the imperial court at Vienna was the centre of a wide artistic culture to which the artists of Italy crowded, and in which the opera flourished under

the patronage of the Austrian nobility. But more than that, the neighbourhood of Pressburg produced many notable musicians. The Bach family came from it originally, for Veit Bach, grandfather of Johann Sebastian, was born there. The population contained a great mixture of races, and particularly a large proportion of Croatians, one of the Slavonic races conquered by the Austrians, whose original home was on the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

All the Slavonic peoples have strong musical instincts. The Croatian folk-songs have been collected in recent years, as those of the British Isles have been, and the process has shown a wealth of melody revealing a fund of untaught musical genius, the existence of which was almost as unsuspected by cultivated musicians of the eighteenth century as our English songs were neglected in the nineteenth. A mass of evidence has been brought together to show that Haydn's family came of Croatian stock, and it has been proved beyond a doubt that the folk-songs of his people stamped their character upon the music of his later life.[1]

His parents were poor; his father was a wheelwright, his mother had been a cook. Joseph was the second of a large family. One of his younger brothers, Michael, became a musician whose fame would have been wide enough to make the name of Haydn memorable even if Joseph had not lived to make it illustrious, and in a simple way both parents and children were musicians, for though they were not, like the Bach family, devoted to music as their work in life, they loved it as a recreation. Yet it was probably a surprise to Matthias Haydn, the father, when his friend Frankh, the schoolmaster of Hainburg, a town not far from Rohrau, noticed little Joseph, then six years old, and declaring him to be exceptionally clever, insisted upon taking him into his school.

Here Haydn began his education, but schools, and especially country schools, in those days were not models of efficiency and care, and Haydn lived a hard life, from which he was rescued at the end of two years by a certain Viennese musician named

[1] For a detailed discussion of this subject see *A Croatian Composer, Notes towards the study of Joseph Haydn*, by W. H. Hadow.

Reutter, who chanced to visit Hainburg, and discovered that Haydn had an exceptionally pure treble voice. He was therefore carried off to become a choir-boy in St. Stephen's Church at Vienna, and there he remained for eight years. The choir-school taught him to play upon two instruments, the harpsichord and the violin, as well as to sing, and though it gave him no teaching in composition, which was what he most loved, choir-boys necessarily get a good many opportunities of hearing music, especially since the services of a cathedral church in those days included much instrumental music beside that of the organ.

It was indeed as happy a chance as could be wished for which took him to Vienna, and his voice steadily improved until he became the leading solo-boy of the choir. When he had been in the choir for five years his younger brother, Michael, was admitted as a junior boy, but then came the time when Joseph's voice began to break, when the Empress Maria Theresa complained that young Haydn's singing was like the crowing of a cock, and soon Michael had to take his place as solo-boy, and Joseph knew that before long he would have to leave.

When he was sixteen years old the dreadful moment arrived, and was intensified by the fact that he left the choir in disgrace for a silly practical joke, and so lost that chance of friendly help from the choirmaster which he might have looked for in other circumstances.

To go back to his parents at Rohrau would have been to give up his cherished career as a musician, and they were too poor to support him in Vienna. He was therefore as much thrown upon his own resources as Handel had been when he set out for Hamburg. But he was not quite friendless. One friend lent him some money, with which he hired a room to live in, and an harpsichord to practise upon. Another, a bookseller, allowed him to borrow books to improve his education. He acquired a few pupils, and so by one means and another made shift to live. The most important means of self-education was a copy of some of the earlier sonatas for harpsichord by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, which came into his possession through his bookseller friend, and which

he studied with great earnestness. We shall see presently in what way they guided his efforts (see Part II, p. 66).

In the next few years his circle of friends was widened by his coming in contact with two men, both holding high positions in the artistic world. These were the Italian poet, Metastasio, who had settled in Vienna, and whose dramas were looked upon by people of fashion as the ideal basis for musical setting in opera, and Niccolò Porpora, who was the admired composer of some thirty operas, who had trained many of the greatest singers of his age, and who now in his old age (he was born in 1686, the year after Handel and Bach) was still a fashionable teacher. Haydn happened to lodge in the same house as Metastasio, by whose means he was introduced to Porpora, and though neither of them could be expected to appreciate the genius of a young fellow who as yet had accomplished little, and whose aims were far different from theirs, they were helpful to him in increasing his acquaintance. Porpora gave him employment as his accompanist. In this company he met many distinguished musicians, among them Gluck, who had already risen to popularity by his settings of the librettos of Metastasio for the opera, and Dittersdorf, a violinist several years younger than Haydn himself, who was afterwards distinguished as a composer of quartets and symphonies, which owe much to Haydn's influence.

With this society, with constant efforts at composition, and the constant necessity for earning a living, Haydn's time was fully occupied in the years which followed, until the fortunate invitation to visit Weinzirl (see Part II, p. 25) presented itself in 1755. It was there that Haydn had his first opportunity of putting his studies into practice by composing music for instruments and testing the result by hearing it played.

When he returned to Vienna in the next year his life became less of a struggle. He was winning for himself a position of his own among the younger musicians of the day; pupils were more anxious to take lessons from him, amateurs more ready to engage him as a player, and his prospects gradually brightened until in 1759 he was offered his first appointment as Kapellmeister, or musical director, to a certain Count Morzin. Such appoint-

ments, as we have seen in the cases of Bach and Handel, were generally considered to be the best means of livelihood which a musician in Germany or Austria could secure, and they were eagerly sought after. This one gave only a small salary, but Haydn thought it sufficiently good to justify him in marrying, though, as events proved, it afforded him little security for an income.

His marriage in 1760 to Maria Anna Keller was not a happy event. It is said that he was persuaded to it by the lady's father rather than by his own affection, and it soon became evident that no real sympathy existed between husband and wife. There may have been fault on his side, but when we think how genial and kindly was Haydn's nature, we do not need to read stories of her ill temper to realize that the larger share of blame was hers.

The appointment as Kapellmeister to Count Morzin did not last long. The Count had to dismiss his musical retainers soon after Haydn's marriage, but another and better appointment offered in 1761 and proved to be the mainstay of Haydn's career. Prince Paul Anton Esterhazy required a second Kapellmeister to assist in the direction of the music at his country seat at Eisenstadt, and Haydn was appointed. Though the Prince died in the following year this proved to be no real misfortune for Haydn, for he was succeeded by his brother, Prince Nicolaus, who was a genuine enthusiast for music, who cared for nothing so much as to live quietly in the country and pursue his love of the arts, and who in course of time raised Haydn to the position of chief Kapellmeister and gave him every encouragement to develop his powers as a composer.

A great deal has been justly said about the evils of a state of society in which great artists are treated as the domestic servants of men who in everything but worldly position are their inferiors. But the extent to which individuals suffer from the evil depends upon the characters of the master and the servant. What Haydn wanted was to be let alone. He had a special kind of art to work out, a kind which did not, like the opera or the performances of great players, need to be spurred on by the applause or censure of the world at large. He wanted to find

the best way of making instrumental music speak the dreams and joys of his heart ; he wanted players always ready to let him hear what he wrote, complete release from the ordinary distractions of daily life, and a measure of sympathy from those with whom he came in contact.

All these things he had in the household at Eisenstadt and later at the large new estate of Esterház which the Prince created on the Neusiedler-See. The Prince was sometimes trying, as princes are apt to be ; he required a greater number of pieces to play upon his favourite instrument, the baryton, than Haydn would have thought it worth while to write for anybody but his master, he made inept suggestions about the music for the Mass in his chapel, and he sometimes kept the musicians in the country when they wanted to go home to their families. But Haydn understood the principle of give and take which many artistic people ignore or despise. Where Handel would have raged and hurled his wig upon the floor, or where Wagner would have chafed and written bitter letters about the want of true perception in the wicked world, Haydn's easy temper remained unruffled. He wrote the baryton pieces as rapidly as possible, he answered the complaints about the chapel music with a skilful practical joke, and he gave a delicate hint that musicians sometimes want a holiday by composing the 'Farewell' symphony, in which each instrument in turn was made to retire from the orchestra, until only two violins were left at the end.

There was little else to disturb him. The move to the house at Esterház in 1766, short visits with the Prince to Vienna, a fire which burnt the private theatre at Esterház, and the occasional visits of great people requiring special musical celebrations, such as that of the Empress Maria Theresa in 1773, were the only events to break the quiet flow of work. He wrote quartets and symphonies for the Prince's concerts, Masses for the chapel, music for plays and operas in the theatre, and though much, especially in the last-named class of work, was merely directed to the needs of the moment, his pure instrumental music was becoming a treasure-house for a wider world than

that of the court of Esterhazy. Such contentment has its drawbacks; a nature which never raged could not write a 'Hailstone chorus', nor could one without complaint give us a *Tristan*, but it could and did give us the sunny glow and cheerful humour of the 'Salomon' symphonies.

Mozart's Early Life

We may turn here to contrast the very different lot of Mozart. If Haydn in the year after he gained the appointment under Prince Paul heard anything of the little boy of six who then paid his first visit to Vienna as a brilliant child musician, who was watched over and educated by his father, himself a cultured musician, and who was spoken of as a 'little magician' by the Emperor, he must have thought of him as a lucky child, and contrasted such good fortune with the hard one of his own early years. For, as we have seen, at the same age Haydn had been packed off to a rough school and ever after had had to fight his way in life for himself. Later on, however, the position was reversed. We know that when he grew up Mozart made desperate efforts to obtain such an appointment as Haydn possessed under Prince Esterhazy, that he was always struggling with poverty, and died worn out with the effort at the age of thirty-seven, while Haydn lived to enjoy world-wide fame and an honoured old age.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was born at Salzburg on January 27, 1756. Everything at first marked him out as a favoured individual. The tall and spacious house in one of the best streets of the beautiful town surrounded by mountains and washed by the river Salzach contrasts strikingly enough with the low cottage by the roadside which was Haydn's home. The parents of the latter were as ignorant as they were well-meaning, but Leopold Mozart, Wolfgang's father, was a musician who not only held a post as violinist to the Archbishop of Salzburg, but who wrote an able treatise on violin-playing which to this day is quoted beside that of Geminiani (see Part II, p. 17). His wife too was a woman of intelligence. They had several

children besides Wolfgang, but only one, a girl a few years older than he, lived to grow up, and the whole life of the parents was centred upon the upbringing of these two.

Leopold Mozart was determined from the first that both should be musicians, and carefully thought out and superintended every detail of their education. The girl was clever, but the boy was a marvel. Before he could write he was composing music. Nothing seemed difficult to him ; he took to the harpsichord so readily that when he was only six years old his father determined to take the children on their first tour in order to display their abilities in the chief towns of Bavaria and Austria, particularly Munich and Vienna. At the latter, as has been said, they played to the delight of the Emperor and Empress, and Wolfgang was nicknamed by the one and kissed by the other.

The following year the father undertook a more ambitious scheme, starting through Munich, visiting the chief German towns on the Rhine, travelling northwards till he reached Brussels, and making Paris his ultimate destination. Such journeys in a time when travelling was done by post-chaise, or still more slowly by coach, over roads which we should think execrable, were not undertaken lightly. Nowadays any child who can be advertised as a prodigy is hurried from one European capital to another, to play in Vienna, Paris, London, and Berlin upon the smallest justification. It is one of the penalties which we pay for the existence of the *train de luxe*. Nothing but an overwhelming belief in the true genius of his children could have induced Leopold Mozart to incur all the danger and expense of such a journey. The children were delicate. In the previous year the tour had been interrupted by Wolfgang catching scarlet fever in Vienna. Fortunately for his peace of mind he had not to torment himself with modern theories of infection by bacilli.

The children played at the court of Versailles, were admired and petted in Paris, and it was there that for the first time some of Wolfgang's boyish compositions were printed. Having got so far, it seemed a natural thing to go on and conquer London,

and so in the spring of 1764 they arrived and were received by King George III.

At this time music in London was at a low ebb, not so much from lack of good musicians as from lack of good audiences. Thomas Arne, whose songs to words by Shakespeare are still well known, was assiduously composing operas; William Boyce, organist of the Chapel Royal, was writing solid church-music. Neither was strong enough to direct the taste of the public into any new channel. The memory of Handel, who had died five years previously, was held in great reverence; there was a general feeling that there never could be another composer to stand beside him, and one-half of the public headed by the King admired everything which at all reflected Handel's style, while the other half cast eagerly about for any new sensation from the Continent.

In this mood Johann Christian Bach, one of the younger sons of J. S. Bach, had been accepted as a shining light. No son of Johann Sebastian could help knowing good music from bad, but Johann Christian was not a genius, only a well-taught man with some talent. He gauged London taste accurately, and set himself to amuse it with skilful harpsichord pieces which he played admirably. He is credited with the saying that the difference between his elder brother Carl Philipp Emanuel (see Part II, pp. 58 to 65) and himself was that while Carl Philipp lived to compose, he composed to live. But London society placed a higher value upon him; he was the queen's music-master and the leader of fashionable taste.

Such a man as J. C. Bach could be a valuable friend to the Mozarts, and he seems to have been as genuinely impressed by Wolfgang's extraordinary gifts as were the less critical members of the public. But with the King they needed no advocate, for the two things which appealed most readily to the simple heart of George III were children and music, and the Mozarts gave him both. He was delighted by Wolfgang's playing on the harpsichord and organ, and particularly by his playing at sight of some pieces by Handel and his improvisation upon a bass by the same composer.

In appealing to the wider public Leopold Mozart did not despise the arts of advertisement nor forget in what mould English taste was cast. He worked up the excitement of the sensation-lovers by calling his children 'prodigies of nature', and asked for sympathy on the ground that Handel was their countryman, though the latter claim was to stretch a point from Saxony to Austria. The design succeeded, London went into ecstasies over the children, and the father's pride was gratified.

Mere sensation soon dies; Leopold Mozart should have carried the children away while it was at its height. He probably mistook it for real appreciation, and it was sufficiently gratifying and lucrative to induce him to stay. Moreover, he presently fell ill himself, so that there could be no question of leaving for a time, and when he recovered he began to find how poor a thing the excitement of the London public was, for in the spring of 1765 it became increasingly difficult to work up an audience for a performance which people had flocked to hear the year before. At last in the summer of that year he determined to leave England, and they started on their return journey, stopping at Paris and visiting certain towns in Germany and Switzerland on the way.

The tour had been a great experience for Wolfgang; it had taught him much of the conditions of life in most of the countries of Europe; he had met and been treated as a friend by distinguished musicians, and all the time he had composed ardently, writing his first symphonies during his father's illness in England. It was a severe tax upon the constitution of a delicate boy; he had been seriously ill on the return journey, and when he got home to Salzburg in November, 1766 (he was then between eleven and twelve years old), his parents were wise in deciding to relax the strain by keeping him at home in comparative quiet for a time. They projected no more big tours for the next three years, but during that time he made many essays in composition. One important event was the production of his little German opera *Bastien und Bastienne* at a private theatre in Vienna. Another was his appointment as Konzertmeister

(a less important position than Kapellmeister) to the Archbishop of Salzburg, though the post brought him no salary.

His father naturally had his eye upon one country, hitherto unvisited, which, because of all that had come from it in the past, was still looked upon as the true home of music. It was Italy, and in the winter of 1769 he and the boy, aged nearly sixteen, took their way towards Rome. From this time we begin to hear more of Wolfgang as a composer, less of him as a performer. He was passing out of the age when he could be described as a 'prodigy of nature'; his precocity was remarked in his quickness of mind and remarkable feats of memory. One instance of the latter is well known. It was during Holy Week in Rome that he first heard Allegri's beautiful 'Miserere' sung in the Sistine chapel and afterwards wrote it down note for note from memory. You may hear it sung in St. Paul's Cathedral on any Friday during Lent. He also learnt from Martini, a great musical scholar, the art of writing pure vocal counterpoint, an acquirement which he put to splendid uses later.

An opera by him had a certain amount of success at Milan; he was given a taste of the same enthusiasm which Handel had experienced in Italy sixty years before (see Part I, p. 101), and on this journey he learnt all that there was to know about the Italian manner of writing fluent and brilliant songs for the opera.

The journey closed Mozart's boyhood. He came back to Salzburg with a commission to write another opera for Milan and a reputation which surprised his countrymen. Any one so sought after by the Italians must, they felt, be a person of consequence; the Empress gave him a commission to compose a work, and other opportunities presented themselves. These things and his service to the Archbishop filled much of his time, but the most important thing for us when we come to the study of his music is that in 1773 he chanced, when visiting Vienna, to meet with some of the quartets of Haydn, and that these so impressed him that he wrote six studies in the same style, and afterwards said that it was from Haydn that he first learnt to write a string quartet.

In the years which followed he composed the dramatic cantata *Il Rè Pastore* (The Shepherd King), the words by Metastasio, some violin concertos, a serenade for orchestra written for a wedding in the family of a man named Haffner, a citizen of Salzburg, and other instrumental music, but his troubles were beginning. A new archbishop reigned at Salzburg, a man as unlike to Haydn's complacent Prince Esterhazy as any patron could be. In the conditions of Mozart's service to this man we see the principle of patronage exercised in the worst possible way. Ecclesiastical patronage is likely to be more pernicious than secular patronage, for the reason that an archbishop has the excuse of his church for making exorbitant demands upon his musicians, although he himself may have no genuine appreciation of their work. This was what happened in the case of Archbishop Hieronymus and Mozart. The former probably realized that he had got an exceptionally able man to work for him; he was determined to get the most out of him and to give in return as little as possible either in actual payment or by allowing him opportunities to pursue his career in a wider sphere than a provincial cathedral town could offer.

Mozart therefore lived in bondage, cut off from the larger interests of his art. There was no opera at Salzburg, no adequate orchestra. He had to content himself with composing Masses and other church music, and occasional instrumental works for the Archbishop's household. He caught eagerly at the chance of composing for the wedding of a burgher's daughter mentioned above, he hailed with joy the invitation to produce a light opera at Munich in 1775, and in the same year welcomed the chance of producing *Il Rè Pastore* is his own town.

We can imagine how irksome such constraint was to a young man just feeling the strength of his powers and who as a child had been petted and praised in all the courts of Europe. His father too was impatient for bigger successes on the part of the son, and at last both began to press for leave of absence. In 1777 the Archbishop yielded grudgingly, and it was arranged that Mozart should travel with his mother, the father remaining behind as he also was bound to the Archbishop.

Then began another important tour, but quite different in results from the childish ones of which we have written. In October Wolfgang and his mother reached Mannheim, a place which must be remembered as important in Mozart's career and in musical history, for it gave him many new experiences. We have already described the orchestra which he found there (see Part II, p. 33) and the enthusiasm over the musical arrangements of the Electoral Court, particularly the clarinets, expressed in his letter to his father. He made friends with many of the musicians, and particularly with the Weber family, of whom the father and several daughters were singers at the opera. It was little wonder that Mozart was attracted first by the singing then by the person of one of the daughters, Aloysia, and soon found himself head over ears in love with her. It is still less wonder that his father was aghast at his wish to marry at the age of twenty-one, feeling that it would be fatal to the career which he had marked out for his son. Mozart stayed in Mannheim all the winter, but at last he was half persuaded and half compelled to continue his journey to Paris, where alone his father was determined there was fitting opportunity for his powers to display themselves.

Though, as it turned out, the father was right in separating the lovers, he was wrong in supposing that Paris was ready to fall at the feet of his son. Musical Paris was seriously occupied in discussing the rival merits of two operatic composers, Gluck and Piccinni, both foreigners, and had no use for a third. The question behind the discussion was no mere superficial difference of opinion as to which was the better composer, such as had moved the Londoners in the contest between Handel and his rivals (Part I, p. 104). It was based upon the question of whether opera in the French language and in a style which appealed especially to French people could hold its own against Italian opera transplanted, language, style, and all to another country (see Part II, p. 126). Gluck was the champion of French opera; Piccinni, who years before had written a work which attained to world-wide popularity, was brought by the opposing party to uphold the Italian tradition. The contest could only end

in one way, in the triumph of the nationalist party, but until it was decided there was little hope that a third party could get a hearing, and all that this visit did for Mozart was to give him the benefit of studying the original principles of Gluck's operatic style (see p. 129).

He made some new friendships and renewed old ones, among the latter was Johann Christian Bach, who had supported his childish efforts in London. One important work, known as the 'Paris Symphony', of which more later (see p. 90), was written for and performed at the famous 'Concert spirituel'. Except for this one success, however, the record was depressing enough for a young man who was both crossed in love and burning to distinguish himself in art. It was made the more so by a personal grief, the death in Paris of his mother, who had accompanied him on this journey.

After this there seemed to be good reason for returning home, but though he left Paris he lingered on the journey, staying again at Mannhein, although for no particular reason, except that he had tender memories connected with the place, for the court had removed to Munich, and with it had gone the musicians including the Webers. The presence of friends there was instrumental a little later in securing for Mozart the commission to write a grand opera for the Munich Carnival (*Idomeneo*), but meantime there was nothing for it but Salzburg again and composition, of which he did a great quantity.

When he was in Munich in the early spring of 1781, and *Idomeneo* had been produced and proved an undeniable success, Mozart received a peremptory order to join the Archbishop in Vienna. He had to tear himself away from his success and obey, though there was no clear reason for the order, except that the Archbishop chose to call his servant to him. It proved to be the end of his confinement at Salzburg, however, and that was an improvement of circumstance which was balanced by the fact that the Archbishop's personal behaviour to Mozart became the more insolent and overbearing. It was not long to be borne; a chain of petty refusals to allow Mozart to play in public or at the houses of the nobility, intentional slights put upon him when

others admired him, as well as other circumstances, led to several interviews in which Mozart asked to be discharged. The Archbishop responded with abuse which nowadays would sound peculiarly unseemly in the mouth of a cleric, and the scene ended in Mozart's summary dismissal.

It is difficult to realize that a young man of twenty-five years with a brilliant record of musical successes in many countries, who had attracted the favourable notice of the Emperor, and who had been badly treated by a man whom the Emperor hated, could have any difficulty in making his way in Vienna where there existed the most artistic society of the time. Yet so strong was the system of patronage that a musician of the highest order who tried to live unattached to the service of one nobleman might find it difficult to procure a satisfactory living. The career of a public performer on harpsichord or piano (the latter was just beginning to be appreciated) did not command the high fees which a Paderewski can secure to-day, and a composer found publication difficult, and to get a work performed at a theatre was almost as hard as it is for an English composer of the present day to get an opera accepted at Covent Garden.

Mozart did secure through the influence of the Emperor the performance of a comic German piece, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (The Elopement from the Harem), at a theatre founded for the purpose of producing light opera in German a few years previously, but this corresponded more to the performance of a work at, say, the Savoy Theatre in London, without entailing a ' run ' such as a modern light opera generally gets.

Haydn and Mozart meet

It was in the winter following his discharge by the Archbishop that Mozart first met Haydn and their lives began to interact upon one another. Haydn had come to Vienna on leave from Esterház for the performance of some of his quartets, and the two great men probably met at the house of a nobleman who had engaged Mozart to play. Haydn was now in middle age ; as we have seen, he had fought through the difficulties of youth

and declined upon an easy and profitable way of life, in which he was pursuing his natural bent with little interruption. Mozart, after a youth in which his genius had blossomed freely, was feeling the hardships of the world acutely. The genial sympathy of the older man was balm to Mozart, and the more strenuous nature of the younger one was stimulating to Haydn. It may even have struck Haydn that in the quietness of his own life he had missed some of the finer and more sensitive qualities which he found in Mozart's music. Certainly he was humble enough to learn from one who in years might have been his own son, and Mozart was enthusiastic enough to hail with joy the master of the string quartet. They were ripe for an ideal friendship, the effects of which began to appear in their music. Neither could be unduly influenced by the other; each was too firmly established in his own ideals to become the copyist of the other, but both could advance some distance along the lines of the other.

In the following year another event was a spiritual stimulus to Mozart, although it added to his material cares. He tempted fortune by getting married. His wife was not Aloysia, his first love (she had long since shown that her love for him was not deep by marrying some one else), but the younger sister of Aloysia, Constanze Weber, who was now living in Vienna. Mozart's marriage was another point of contrast with Haydn, for he and his wife were genuinely attached, they shared their joys and their troubles, and they had a large share of the latter. They were always poor, partly through the difficulties which have been described, partly because neither was clever at making the most of what money they had. They lived chiefly in Vienna, making a visit to Salzburg in the year after their marriage, in order that Constanze might get to know Mozart's father and sister, both of whom had played such important parts in his early success. Their life in Vienna consisted largely of the interests of his profession, particularly the subscription concerts which he undertook and for which he composed his concertos for piano and orchestra, one of the most important branches of his composition.

In 1785 Leopold Mozart paid a visit to his son and daughter-

in-law, and was comforted for his disappointment for the lack of worldly success by meeting Haydn at their house and hearing the high opinion which he had formed of Mozart's genius. Haydn's words have often been quoted. He turned to Leopold and said, 'I declare before God that your son is the greatest composer that I know either personally or by reputation.' What more could a father want? He went back to Salzburg and never saw his son again, though before he died (in 1787) he had the pleasure of hearing again of Wolfgang's success as a composer in the following way.

In 1786 Mozart's opera, *Idomeneo*, was performed in Vienna, and made so strong an impression that a writer, Lorenzo da Ponte, asked leave of the Emperor to adapt Beaumarchais's comedy, *Le Mariage de Figaro*, as an Italian opera-book for Mozart. The comedy was a satire upon the habits of court life, which had stirred Europe, and indeed the acting of it by Marie Antoinette, sister of the Emperor Francis Joseph and Queen of France, was one of her daring escapades which helped to precipitate the French Revolution. The Emperor was unwilling to give his consent, but eventually did so, and in da Ponte's hands the play was shorn of a great deal of its satirical wit, and became rather an irresponsible piece of light-hearted fooling.

Le Nozze di Figaro (The Marriage of Figaro) was produced in Vienna with a success which in itself was strong encouragement to Mozart, whose opportunities for producing opera in the capital had been few. But this success was momentary, and as nothing in comparison with the reception which *Figaro* achieved at Prague later in the same year. Prague rejoiced in Mozart with an intensity which Vienna never displayed. It was the capital of an exceedingly musical people, whose taste was less overloaded by the influx of foreign artists than was the taste of the Austrian aristocracy, and that taste leapt up at once to greet the sparkling vivacity of Mozart's comedy.

Nor did the delight stop with *Figaro*. Mozart was a hero; his playing at concerts and especially his improvisation at the piano on themes from *Figaro* kept enthusiasm at a high pitch, and the Symphony in D which he wrote for these concerts, and which is

still known as the 'Prague Symphony' (see Part II, p. 92), shows in its happy quality how his nature responded to the general influence.

He returned to Vienna since he could not afford to lose touch with its wider musical life, but Prague had not done with him. Another opera was commissioned, and in the autumn of 1787 his masterpiece, *Don Giovanni*, was produced there with equally great acclamation. The story of how the overture to *Don Giovanni* was composed during the night before the first performance, and how Mozart's wife sat by him plying him with hot punch and conversation to keep him awake is often repeated to show the rapidity with which he could compose. But such rapidity was almost common property amongst eighteenth-century composers. It was partly due to the fact that certain musical forms were accepted, and that a man who, like Mozart, had his musical ideas clear in his head, had much less trouble in deciding his means of conveying them to an audience than a modern composer has. The story is an interesting example, however, of a curious habit of mind in Mozart, of which there are many other instances. He would constantly set to work and write sufficient of a new opera to make the whole scheme clear to himself. He then left it, only returning to it just in time to hurry the remaining details on to the paper before the work was heard.

The End of Mozart's Career

Don Giovanni was the herald of the most important period in Mozart's career. He had achieved his ambition in opera, he now in 1788 put the crown upon his work as a writer of symphonies. His three most famous symphonies, of which the 'Jupiter' (see pp. 9 and 96) is one, were written in this year. In spite of all these achievements his position remained unsatisfactory. The small post of Court composer given him by the Emperor, was only sufficient to keep him attached to the Viennese court lest he should be tempted to betake himself elsewhere.

He had, in fact, serious thoughts of trying his fortune in England, of which he kept some happy memories from his youth,

and in the next year, 1789, he actually accepted an invitation to visit Berlin, though when he got there and King Frederick William II made him a really generous offer, he could not bring himself to accept it at the price of banishment from Vienna. For us the most interesting experience of Mozart on this journey is one which links him with J. S. Bach. He stopped at Leipzig on the way, made the acquaintance of the cantor, Doles, a pupil of J. S. Bach, at the Thomas Kirche, and played upon the organ. Doles was greatly struck by his playing, and made his choir sing for Mozart's benefit J. S. Bach's motet 'Singet dem Herrn' (Sing to the Lord) which, like practically all Bach's choral music, was then unknown to musicians outside Leipzig. Mozart's enthusiasm was aroused, and exclaiming 'Here is something from which one may still learn', he spread out the parts of Bach's motets before him (no scores were to be had) and became absorbed in the study of them.

The only tangible result of the visit to Berlin was a commission to write some string quartets. The rest of Mozart's career on his return to Vienna is merely the record of strenuous efforts in composition, particularly opera, difficulties about money matters constantly increased by the illness of his wife, his own breakdown in health, and finally his piteous death on December 5, 1791. These last years include the light opera *Così fan tutte*, the performance of which was stopped by the event of the Emperor's death (1790), *Die Zauberflöte*, written for Schikaneder, the manager of a poor theatre in the suburbs of Vienna, and his last bid for public recognition, *La Clemenza di Tito*, a grand opera written for the coronation of the new Emperor.

We cannot leave Mozart's life without a mention of the *Requiem Mass*, which occupied his last hours of work and haunted him in his illness. He had been commissioned to write it by a man who adopted an air of mystery, refusing to tell him from whom the commission came. The reason for the mystery seems to have been an attempt to secure Mozart's work and palm it off as that of some one else. But Mozart in his distraction and with illness upon him looked upon it as a supernatural warning of his own death, and spoke of the *Requiem* as composed for himself. He

left it unfinished, though, according to his custom, he had written enough to show the main design, and he had discussed its detail with his pupil Süssmayer, who eventually finished it.

The death of the Emperor Francis Joseph was a real loss to Mozart, for the Emperor had been his friend, slow though he was to reward his services. Mozart's collapse in the following year, and the fact that his death was hardly noticed by the society of Vienna shows that he had received considerable moral support from the Emperor's favour.

Haydn's Later Life

It is a curious coincidence that a similar loss came to Haydn in the same year, but with very different results to the musician. The death of Prince Nicholas gave Haydn at last the opportunity of accepting the invitations to travel, which for some time past had been pressed upon him by the outer world. Haydn was famous by his compositions, which had spread over Europe though he had remained at Esterház. Several years before, symphonies had been commissioned from him for the famous 'Concert spirituel' in Paris, and he had been asked to compose for the cathedral at Cadiz and had replied with the meditation upon 'The Seven Words from the Cross'.

Again, in 1787, an emissary from England had come to try to tempt him to London, in order that his works and his person might be made an attraction to the concerts which were being given by the violinist Salomon. To such invitations Haydn gave the excuse that his Prince could not spare him, but when the Prince died and another succeeded him there was no further reason for refusing. The new Prince was not musical; he dismissed the musicians, treating Haydn generously, however, by giving him an enlarged pension.

On December 15, 1790 (ten days after Mozart's death), Haydn at the age of fifty-eight started out upon a new phase of his career. He left Vienna and came straight to England, arriving in London on New Year's Day, 1791.

He found much the same conditions prevailing as regards

music which had influenced the career of Mozart as a little boy twenty-seven years before. Handel was enshrined as a great memory, and Londoners looked to the Continent for the continuation of his tradition. Haydn became the man of the hour; he was fêted in London, six of his new symphonies were produced at Salomon's concerts, he was taken to Oxford to be made a Doctor of Music, to Westminster Abbey to hear the oratorios of Handel, and it is reported that when he heard the 'Hallelujah' chorus he exclaimed, 'He is the master of us all.'

His 'Seven Words from the Cross' was performed in the Hanover Square rooms, and having heard it the English public could only hope to turn Haydn into a composer of oratorios.

It was on his return that he stopped at Bonn and first met with a young composer of that town who submitted some work to him for an opinion. The composer was Ludwig van Beethoven, and the acquaintance begun accidentally led to important results, for Beethoven following Haydn to Vienna studied counterpoint and composition with him in the interval between Haydn's first and second visits to London (see p. 142).

The second visit took place in 1794, when six more symphonies were produced by Salomon, when Haydn renewed his impressions of Handel's work, and eventually left London carrying with him an English libretto founded upon Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which had been intended originally for Handel but had been unused.

This was composed by Haydn in Vienna as *The Creation*, the work by which he attained his widest fame during his life, though looking back over the hundred years which have passed since, we realize that it was in his instrumental music that he did his biggest service to his art. One more choral work followed, *The Seasons*, which in England at any rate had almost as great a vogue at first, but in spite of these distractions Haydn remained true to the simple form of quartet music, and in the years when he was occupied with these things many of his latest and finest quartets (between Opp. 71 and 103) were written.

That is practically all Haydn's story. His old age was spent quietly in Vienna amongst friends who loved him and whom he loved. Unlike Mozart, he saw the full fruits of his labours; he

had said his say, persuaded rather than forced the world to listen to him, and, whether he realized it or not, he had handed on the torch to another and a swifter runner, Ludwig van Beethoven. He left no unfinished *Requiem* behind when he died peacefully on May 31, 1809.

ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER III

Since this chapter is mainly biographical, the illustration of special points is less essential than elsewhere. At the same time, a certain amount of musical illustration will help to make the lives of Haydn and Mozart more real to pupils. Certain of the works mentioned in the lists following the next two chapters may be used for this purpose.

In addition, songs from the dramatic works of Mozart, such as 'L'amerò' from *Il Rè Pastore*, and 'Voi che sapete' from *Figaro*, and 'With verdure clad' from Haydn's *Creation*, may well be used where a good singer is available.

CHAPTER IV

SONATA FORM

We first came face to face with the sonata at an early stage of our study when we were describing the style of Corelli's violin music (Part I, p. 60), but even then the name was not a new thing in music. We have had to use it constantly since then. Purcell, Domenico Scarlatti, J. S. Bach, Tartini, and practically all composers who were much concerned with music for instruments alone made use of it, but if you have heard or played a number of their works you must have felt a certain amount of confusion in the way they used the same name to describe a number of very different kinds of music. What is there in common, for example, between Purcell's 'Golden Sonata', Scarlatti's well-known harpsichord sonata in A, the instrumental movement for flutes and viole da gamba called 'Sonata' (see Part I, p. 113) with which J. S. Bach begins the cantata *Gottes Zeit*, and Tartini's 'Devil's Trill' (see Part II, p. 18)? Nothing, save the fact that they are all music for instruments without voices or words; music, that is to say, which speaks with a voice of its own and cannot be explained by any poem or story or thought put into words, even though, as in the cases of Bach and Tartini, such thought was actually present with the composer when he wrote.

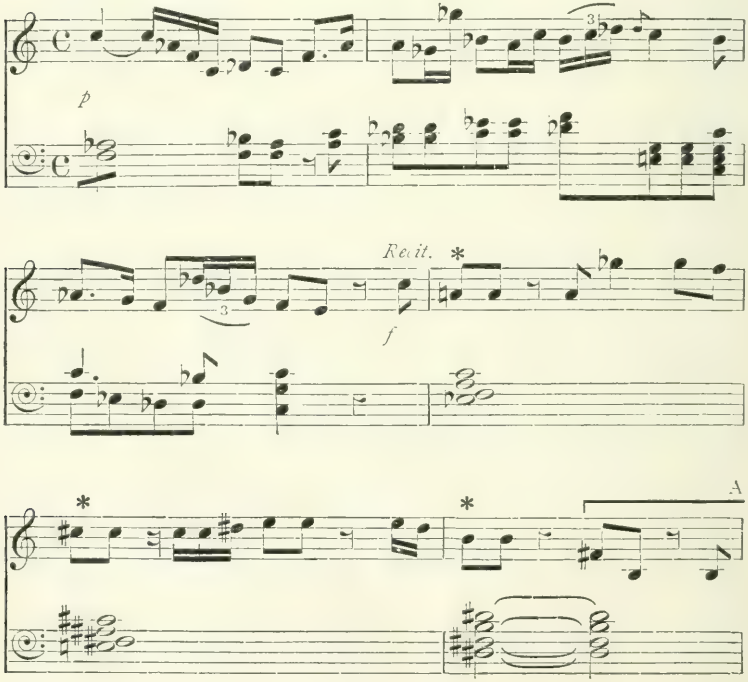
But this attitude in common is enough to explain the meaning of the word 'Sonata'; it comes, of course, originally from the Latin (*sono*, to sound), and composers used it whenever they were most anxious to fix attention upon the sound itself, as though to say to their hearers, 'Set yourselves free from thoughts of language; live for the time being in pure sound, and let us join hands by its means.' So the sonata might, and still may, take any shape, so long as its shape is justified in the music, without reference to things which lie beyond music and need

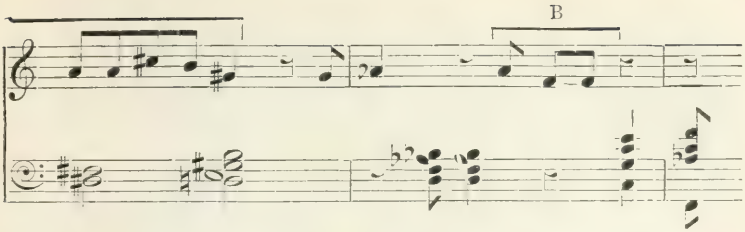
description in words to make them reasonable. Very often composers have used in sonatas ways of expressing themselves which they first found out in connexion with words or drama, but when they do so successfully it is because they have found that those ways have a musical power of their own and are therefore strong enough to discard the help of words and drama.

Vocal Methods in Sonatas

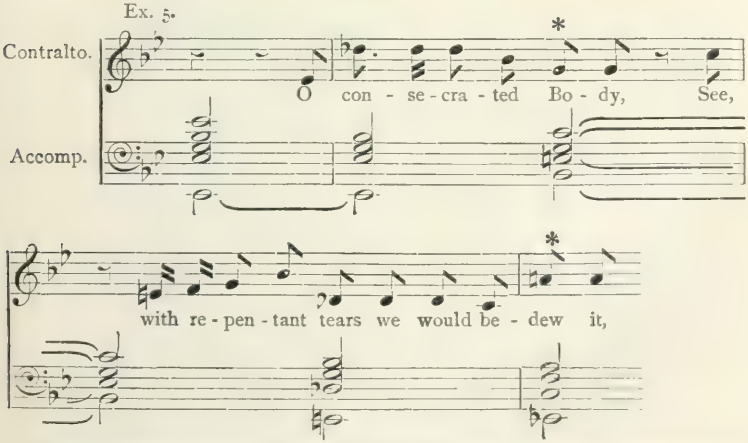
Take, for example, the case of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's sonata in F, the first of the six which he dedicated to the King of Prussia. The slow movement is made up of an aria and recitative alternating with one another.

Ex. 4.





These few bars show the two types, and after the example given, the aria style of the first three bars is taken up again to be interrupted after three more bars by another passage of recitative. This recitative seems to be meant for a voice to sing, indeed at first sight the only sense of the repeated notes on the first beats of the bars (marked *) seems to be that the imaginary singer has two syllables to sing. The whole movement may be compared with the last but one in J. S. Bach's *Passion Music according to St. Matthew* where the solo voices sing phrases of recitative in contrast with the chorus corresponding to the aria part of this movement. Look at a fragment of recitative from that and you see the phrases taking the same shape for the sake of the words.[1]

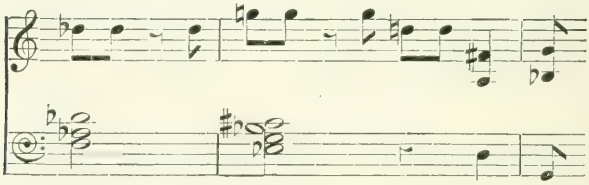


[1] English words are quoted here for the sake of clearness, but their accentuation is that of the German text which J. S. Bach set.

Or, again, compare the phrase marked A in Example 4 with J. S. Bach's 'Come then, our voices let us raise' in the *Christmas Oratorio* (Part II, recitative before the last chorale) and you find a very similar idea springing straight from the words.

Carl Philipp, then, was using merely a dead mannerism in his harpsichord sonata unless we can find that these recitative phrases have a rhythm and life of their own. The phrase A certainly has that, and even the repeated notes (marked with asterisks) help to keep a feeling of agitated movement, which would be lost if you played the passage as though they were crotchets. But the little cadence figure B, and still more his insistence upon it, at the end of the second passage of recitative,

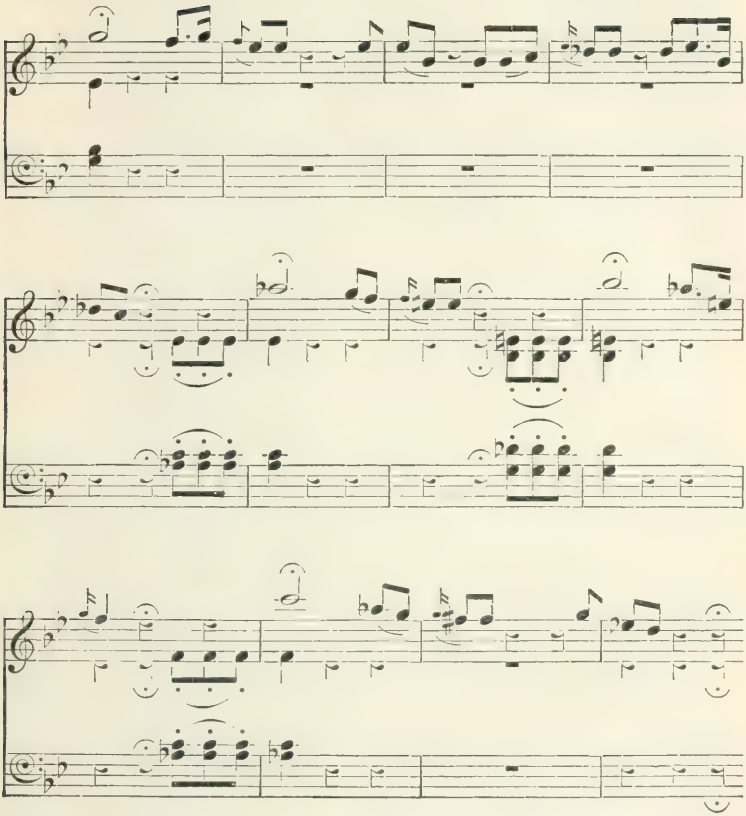
Ex. 6.



is inclined to be absurd except by reference to a voice.

One feels that he has not been able quite to rise above the association of ideas, but that does not make him wrong in bringing recitative into use as a part of the sonata. Haydn followed his example in more than one instance, in the symphony called 'Le Midi' and again in the slow movement of his quartet in G minor (Op. 17, No. 5), which is planned on a precisely similar principle of alternating aria and recitative. A passage from that movement is so striking that it must be quoted here for purposes of comparison with Carl Philipp's recitative. In the rising phrases for the first violin (Ex. 7), each one beginning on a higher note than the last, that which was a copy of the voice is gradually driven out and its place taken by pure instrumental effect. The dramatic feeling is kept and even heightened, but there is no hint of artificiality.

Ex. 7.



While we are touching on this subject of instrumental recitative it is worth while to turn also to Beethoven's piano sonata in D minor (Op. 31, No. 2), where you will find him acting upon the same notion,[1] and doing it with phrases which have such

[1] The instance which carries out the idea to its logical conclusion is, of course, that of the violoncellos and basses in the *finale* of Beethoven's ninth symphony. There, however, the intention is that the instruments should, as it were, strain to reach the articulate speech of the human voice, which is consummated with the entrance of the bass voice singing 'O Freunde, nicht diese Töne'.

complete eloquence in themselves that you need no memory of the singing voice to explain them.

This, however, is a digression; the movement before us is a good illustration of the fact that Carl Philipp, who did more than any man to direct the free idea of the sonata into certain definite forms during the eighteenth century, could yet step out boldly in other directions when he had a mind to do so. We cannot get away from the fact that the broad idea of a sonata as an essay in pure sound became narrowed at this time to mean an essay of a particular kind and shape, and that the narrowing process was largely due to the influence of Carl Philipp.

C. P. E. Bach's Harpsichord Sonatas

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach was born in 1714 (the year of Gluck's birth), when his father was organist to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar (see Part I, p. 99), and he had the immense value of J. S. Bach's training in music. The single example of his music given above (Ex. 4) is one out of many which show how strong was his father's influence upon him, but, unlike many sons of great artists, he was not overwhelmed by that influence. He had it in him to accomplish something which, though not at all as great as his father's work, was distinct from it and therefore of lasting value to the art. Indeed, so valuable was the music to the time in which he lived, and so little had people appreciated the magnificent genius of J. S. Bach, that for a time the son even seemed to be the greater man of the two.

When he was established at the court of the King of Prussia in Berlin (1738) he devoted himself very largely to playing upon and writing for the harpsichord, and it was here that he began to write his long series of sonatas. From the first he adopted the three-movement form as opposed to the old four-movement form (a slow and quick movement alternately), and the six published in 1742, from which our example above was taken, all have one slow movement standing between two quick ones.

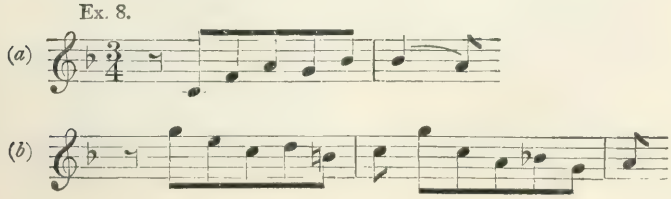
The style of the music, in the quick movements at any rate, can be understood to some extent by turning back to the dis-

tinctions which we drew between binary and ternary forms in connexion with the sonatas of Corelli and the arias of Scarlatti (Part I, pp. 58 and 61). Most instrumental writing, in suites, sonatas, and other pieces not founded upon the fugue, had taken its shape from these simple ideas of balance, either one half of a movement being matched by the second half (binary), or one idea leading to a second which in turn was succeeded by a repetition of the first (ternary).

Carl Philipp's *allegro* movements in these sonatas were a combination of the two. An idea or chain of ideas is started at the outset in, let us say, the key of F (the key of the first sonata in this set). While this chain of ideas (short rhythmic figures scarcely long enough to be called a tune) is being followed out the music gradually changes its key to that of C (the dominant); the modulation is dwelt upon sufficiently to make it quite clear that the change is a definite one, the last link in the chain is altogether in the new key, and the music comes to a halt with a full cadence and a double bar in the printed score.

Now to complete the movement in a strict binary form the logical thing to do would be to pass over the same chain of ideas again, beginning with the first in the new key, in this instance C, and arriving at the last in the original key of F. But such a logical process would be terribly mechanical, and, moreover, the change of key back again could not be made uniformly. Carl Philipp begins his second half as though he were going to be as logical as possible, that is to say he gives us the first of his ideas in the key of C, but from that point he leads off to new and delightful ventures as regards both key and the rhythmic ideas. For instance, in the sonata in F he turns his first idea (Ex. 8 *a*) upside down and passes by means of its extension (Ex. 8 *b*) to the keys of B flat and D minor,

Ex. 8.



giving a new middle section which brings us back again to the key of F.

From that point he proceeds to pass his chain of ideas before us again, generally rather compressing the first and chief of them because he has already dealt with that fully in the middle section, and hurrying on to the later ones, which before were emphasizing the new key of the dominant, but now re-establish the principal one, the tonic. The whole second part from the double bar to the end is therefore a good deal longer than the first part (from the beginning up to the double bar), because it contains both a middle section in which the chief theme is developed, and a recapitulation in which the other themes are passed in review and the principal key established to make us feel quite at home again after the journeys into foreign keys on which the composer has carried us.

Our feeling that it is a ternary form all depends upon how far we are taken both in new material and new keys in the middle, and so in Carl Philipp's earlier sonatas it is not always quite clear which scheme of balance (binary or ternary) is his real foundation.

Sometimes we feel that he attempts experiments which throw him off his balance. One very interesting one is found in the first movement of the third sonata in E major, where he starts with a beautiful melody and indulges in a particularly expressive modulation into the key of G major. From this he has to recover in order to reach the dominant key (B major) which is the aim of his first part. When we look to see whether he will reproduce this G major modulation in the last part, or recapitulation, we find that he approaches it and then, apparently thinking that it will complicate matters too much, avoids it at the last moment, and so leaves us feeling that the beginning of the movement was finer than its ending, a serious mistake.

But it is an old saying that a man who makes no mistakes makes nothing, and Carl Philipp was making a new kind of music from which very great things were to come. The mistake in the plan of the E major Sonata is more instructive than many

instances where the plan is perfectly carried out but is a less ambitious one.

It is easy to see that this kind of writing had great possibilities. In the first place the ideas themselves could be made far more distinctive than those of Carl Philipp's early work. Instead of a little two-bar phrase of no particular character like that of Ex. 8 (*a*), the first idea might be a tune of exquisite beauty like that of Mozart's symphony in E flat (see p. 95), or a phrase of four incisive notes like the opening of Beethoven's symphony in C minor (see p. 171), and these things were to come when the general scheme was sufficiently mastered for composers to be able to handle such ideas consistently.

Then also the questions arise: why should the first idea be of such paramount importance as to claim the middle section for itself, and why should not all the others be more than mere links in a chain, have an individuality of their own, and play some part in that important middle section? Carl Philipp himself answered that question, and we soon find him using the later ideas of his first part as matter for development in the middle, even though they did not appear very important on their first appearance. He does this in both the first and last movements of the sonata in E major already alluded to.

At the same time he often reaches farthest towards positive beauty of feeling when he is not working with the new form, but for the moment is writing more in the polyphonic style of his father. The slow movement of the sonata in E, written like a trio for three instruments, is a perfect gem, woven out of one very simple theme in which continual variety is found in the way it is passed from part to part in a polyphonic style. It might have come from one of J. S. Bach's own concertos. Generally speaking, one may find the reflection of the father in the slow movements of the son, while in the quick movements, first and last, Carl Philipp gives rein to his own invention and enterprise. His music, then, shows us the transition of style described in the first chapter.

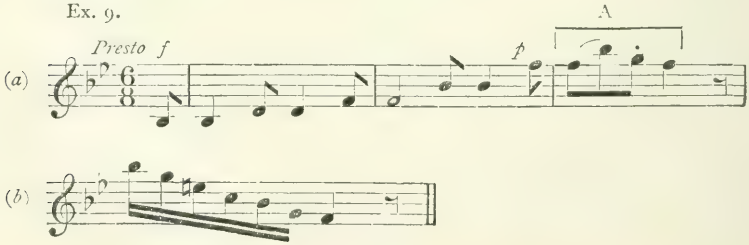
Haydn's Early Quartets

It was this spirit of enterprise which captivated Haydn when as a poor boy in Vienna he chanced to come across a copy of these sonatas. When we say that he took them as models for his own early works, in particular the Weinzirl quartets, we do not mean that he copied them in the sense of trying to write music like them. There is in fact no likeness between Haydn's quartets (Opp. 1–3) and C. P. E. Bach's sonatas comparable to the likeness existing between the recitative of the two Bachs quoted at the beginning of this chapter. That last may be called a family likeness in music.

Haydn was of a wholly different breed ; different in character, nationality, and religion. He was quite untouched by the intimate and serious influence of Protestant church music which permeated the art of J. S. Bach and in which C. P. E. Bach passed his early days at Leipzig. Even his difficulties in life had done nothing to cloud his happy, sunlit nature, and at once it showed itself in his music, making his melodies flow with a suppleness which contrasts strangely with the more severe and sometimes angular style of C. P. E. Bach.

Haydn's first quartet (Op. 1, No. 1, in B flat), written on the lines of a sonata for strings, brings us at once into a fresh atmosphere. At the beginning of its first movement all four instruments dance merrily up an arpeggio of the key chord (Ex. 9 *a*), and the figure which crowns the phrase (marked A) is the mainspring of the whole movement. It is turned about in many ways and presently extended into the dashing downward arpeggio (Ex. 9 *b*).

Ex. 9.



Each phrase is so closely linked to its companions that one cannot mark any point of direct contrast. The music flows joyously along from first to last. Nevertheless, if we look close at the first movement and insist upon breaking it up into component parts, we see that it falls into the three sections, (1) statement of ideas modulating to the dominant key, (2) development from them, and (3) restatement ending in the tonic key, which we have seen was the groundwork of C. P. E. Bach's form.

Haydn brought one new feature into the scheme simply because he loved it. That was the **minuet**, a dance already familiar in the older instrumental suites. In Haydn's hands the minuet brought in an element of pure grace and delicate humour which was lacking in the three-movement sonatas of C. P. E. Bach.

At first he was lavish in his use of it. It was an old custom to write minuets in pairs, the second being followed by a repetition of the first (making together a sort of ternary form), and Haydn adopted this, designing the second as a contrast to the first, both in key and subject-matter, and calling it a **trio**, though the name has no very clear meaning in this connexion. He was not content with one minuet and trio, but in the Weinzirl quartets he generally wrote two, making five movements in all. In the first the order is: (1) Presto, (2) Minuet and Trio, (3) Adagio, (4) Minuet and Trio, (5) Presto.

Later, however, as the first and last movements grew in importance and length, he was content with one minuet and trio, at first placing it before the slow movement, but later on reversing the order when occasion offered. In the quartet in C (Op. 20, No. 2), for example, a bold and restless slow movement in C minor ends, not with a complete close in the key, but with a cadence on its dominant (G), after which the smooth measure of the minuet in the major key steals in at once with indescribably beautiful effect.

Haydn never tied himself down to a fixed order of the movements. In the Weinzirl quartets he made experiments, such as putting the slow movement first and saving the more vigorous feeling of the *allegro* for a later stage (cf. Beethoven's sonata, Op. 27, No. 2, p. 165). The one in D major (Op. 1, No. 3) begins

with an *adagio*, a duet for two violins with viola and violoncello accompaniment (we have already explained the prevalence of this manner of writing, Part II, p. 26), which in plan suggests a combination of the sonata form of C. P. E. Bach with a florid Italian aria. But probably Haydn felt the want of contrast in arranging five movements thus: (1) Adagio, (2) Minuet, (3) Presto, (4) Minuet, (5) Presto, for both minuets and presto movements were at this time very slight, and he had not yet discovered, as he did later on, how they might be elaborated in design without losing their crispness. Sometimes he would substitute an air with variations for the more customary sonata movement, and in one case (Op. 2, No. 3) he tried the curious plan of adding three variations to one of the minuets.

These things show Haydn keenly alive to the need for getting complete control of his material and ready to launch out into any scheme which would serve his purpose, although frequently he found that the normal plan of an allegro, a minuet, an adagio, and a final quick movement of lighter character than the first *allegro* offered all the scope he needed.

In the quartets written at about the time that he took up his service with the Esterhazy family (Opp. 9, 17, and 20) we find that he made less attempt to vary the order of his movements, but concentrated more upon giving distinct character to the music, and particularly aimed at developing the features of the form more fully.

To see how far his art has matured let us look more closely into the first of the six quartets which make Op. 17 (in E major). Here three movements, all except the minuet, take their shape from the form which C. P. E. Bach designed in his harpsichord sonatas, but in each one there is much more melodic matter and the treatment of the detail is much fuller than anything in C. P. E. Bach's early sonatas or in Haydn's Weinzirl quartets. The first movement begins with a little phrase

Ex. 10.

of six notes (Ex. 10), which in itself is not more significant than that quoted from C. P. E. Bach's sonata in F (Ex. 8 *a*). But see how perfectly Haydn has moulded it in six bars into a melody full of rhythmic beauty, rising to a climax where it reaches the higher E in the fourth bar, and completed with a cadence. What at first might have been a chance phrase by anybody has become in a small space something which is stamped with the character of its composer. The same phrase (Ex. 10) is used for a restart, but now with very different results, for instead of further emphasizing its prim shape, it is extended to freer forms till it is succeeded by another melody modulating to the dominant key (B major), the first violin part rising with excited shakes to a high note, E, from which it sinks in a scale passage, growing softer as it descends.

Here several new ideas follow, all in the key of B major. Haydn no longer felt it to be sufficiently interesting to pass from one key to another; the interest depends upon what happens when the passage has been made. To a child going in a train is sufficiently exciting in itself to make a journey good fun, but a grown-up person generally thinks it hardly worth while unless he has something to do at the end of the journey. Haydn's interest in musical modulation was by this time like that of the grown-up person travelling. He made his journey with distinct purpose, and so instead of coming at once to the double bar and beginning the return journey, he gives us a series of fresh impressions.

The most important in this case is the passage which rises steeply to a climax on a high note, stops short impressively, and then finishes with a light, soft phrase, like the laugh of a person who says, 'You thought me very serious, but I am not so really.' The laughter in Haydn's music is the most genial thing in the world. This is done twice, but not in the same way, for that would be as fatuous as to repeat a joke. The second time the ending is delayed by a passage which seems to be modulating back to the key of E, though it does not actually do so.

This part of a sonata movement has now earned the name of

the **second subject**, because its ideas are intended to be a direct contrast to those of the first or opening subject. In the early works of C. P. E. Bach and Haydn there either was no such direct contrast, or else it was there merely incidentally and meant comparatively little in the scheme (see p. 63). The growth in the importance of the second subject was one of the most distinctive features of what Haydn and Mozart achieved in the sonata form.

Just before the double bar in this quartet there is some allusion to the rhythm of the first subject (Ex. 10) in order to prepare the mind for what is coming. In the middle section (or development) its rhythm is all important. There is one very striking point where the music breaks off sharply on a chord of A, followed by a quiet modulating passage ending on the dominant of E, and then the figure of the first subject (Ex. 10) strikes in loudly in the original key. One might well think that now we have made the return journey and are back at the starting-point, beginning the recapitulation. But not at all; Haydn is fooling us. Instead of going on with the whole six-bar melody, he breaks off into further ramifications, using the figure of Ex. 10 as the basis. Only when another climax has been reached does the real return come.

He could not possibly have played this prank successfully if he had not given definite shape to the six-bar melody at the outset, so that we should not feel it to be a real return until the whole of it was played. The rest of the movement is all repetition, the second subject of course now coming in the tonic key of E.

Let us turn to another quartet in the same set (Op. 17, No. 6, in D major), because Haydn's treatment of the form there contrasts in an interesting way with the one we have been studying. It has been proved that the chief subject of the first movement of this work is a variation on a folk-song of Haydn's native race, the Croats.[1] It is a happy-hearted melody in 6-8 time, originally a spring song, which Haydn has made still more exhilarating by the additional notes and his phrasing for the bow of the violin.

[1] See *A Croatian Composer*, by Dr. W. H. Hadow, p. 42.

One cannot say whether he consciously adopted it and the many other tunes of the same kind which one finds in his music, or whether without knowing it he naturally reverted to songs and dance tunes which he had heard at home as a boy, but that does not matter very much. We can say that this tune was a part of his very being, for once he has started upon it he seems quite unable to leave it. Its rhythm pervades the whole movement from beginning to end. Even when he has modulated to a new key and one expects the contrast of a second subject, it pops up its head again in the key of A with almost impudent persistence. The fun is emphasized by the fact that Haydn takes an unusually roundabout way of getting from the tonic to the dominant, modulating first into A minor then into C major, as though he meant to shake the tune off by running far from the usual path, but it was too strong to be resisted. So he evades the obvious means of contrast in sonata form, but with a very distinct and wholly delightful purpose in view.

We must notice, too, in contra-distinction to C. P. E. Bach's sonata in E (see p. 64) that Haydn is quite equal to using this roundabout modulation consistently, for in the recapitulation he turns by way of D minor to F major and so back to the tonic key in place of the dominant, getting the perfect balance which C. P. E. Bach missed.

While we have this quartet before us a general word may be said about Haydn's finales. This one, like very many others, is a *presto* in 2-4 time, with a very strongly marked rhythm of quavers and semiquavers. All the movements of this kind seem to be connected with a popular Slavonic dance called the 'Kolo', which must have been very familiar to Haydn from his memories of home and from its performance by the peasants colonized at Eisenstadt. Some of his finales take the actual tunes of this dance for their themes, but even when there is no evidence of this, the spirit of the dance is the motive power of the whole thing, and in these movements Haydn produced music which is unlike anything which comes from Western Europe. The rhythm is much more sharply cut than that of the gigue, which constantly had the last word in the suites of the time ranging from Corelli

to J. S. Bach and Handel. It is so simple that some of the tunes seem almost childish, but they are never dull, for the spirit of health and frank merriment pervades them, and the themes are bandied about from one instrument to another with entrancing lightness and grace. Generally the form follows that which has been described in the first movements, but with less feeling of responsibility. Contrast is not so essential when the listener is caught up in the whirl of the dance, and there is no stopping for breath until all is over.

So far we have seen the special style, known from the eighteenth century onward as 'Sonata form', taking general shape in the first harpsichord sonatas of C. P. E. Bach and becoming more articulate in detail and more comprehensive in expression through the quartets of Haydn. If we never study the form as a thing apart from the music, we shall avoid the fatal mistake of supposing that the form governs the music, and that therefore all sonatas are very much alike. That is only true of bad composers or the inferior work of good ones. For when a man has nothing that he is very anxious to express he finds it convenient to take a recognized pattern and work in accordance with it. One finds the process continually going on in the work of poets who turn out sonnets, and painters who reproduce the subject of the Holy Family, as well as composers who write sonatas in quantities. Their work is bad because they put the cart before the horse and think of their form first and their matter afterwards.

But in the examples from the first and last quartets of Haydn's Opus 17 we have seen, if we have studied intelligently, that the matter in hand changed the whole complexion of the form to suit itself, and that each new thought modified the form, so that it was by the need to get something said that the form became more pliable and fit to express the composer's feeling. Whenever an artist, be he musician, painter, or poet, finds that his form is governing his thought, he must break away from his associations and shape its expression in some other way if his art is to be true and living.

It is not necessary in order to place Haydn and Mozart on the pinnacles of fame to declare that their whole treatment of sonata

form was of the ideal kind. On the contrary, we shall realize the height they reached all the better if we distinguish clearly between the things which placed them there and those which count for comparatively little in their development. Haydn's quartets, Op. 17, were probably the ones which Mozart first met with in Vienna, and which stimulated him to write on similar lines, but the ones which Mozart wrote as the immediate result of his experience were not destined to be famous, because they were chiefly essays in style. Later on, Mozart composed ten quartets which he dedicated to Haydn as a sign of his gratitude, but they are much less recognizably like Haydn, because they are altogether like Mozart, and represent a quite different phase of quartet style and of the sonata form through which they are presented.

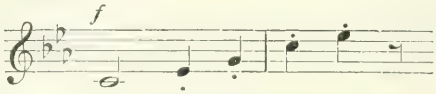
Mozart's Piano Sonatas

So many of us begin our musical experiences through the piano that it might seem more natural to trace the course of development through the piano sonatas of Haydn and Mozart than through their string quartets. But there were various reasons, some have been already mentioned, to make their piano music less truly representative of themselves. The transition from the harpsichord to the piano was going on at this time (see Part II, p. 20), the imperfections of both the new and the old instruments were being felt, Haydn had found his ideal elsewhere, and what he did for the key-board was only a pale reflection of his discoveries on the strings.

Mozart's piano sonatas have kept their place where Haydn's have been forgotten, largely because they are so excellently written for the instrument. All his life he was a public performer. Playing, teaching, and writing music for himself and his pupils to play were his chief means of support, work which he did in order to set himself free for more important things. It would be surprising if we found him at his highest level here, and it is surprising that he never sinks below a certain standard of refinement and grace, never seems tempted to write music which is showy, purposeless, and consequently vulgar.

Still we shall find passages, especially when he is approaching the cadence at the double bar, or at the end of the movement, which are put there for their obvious utility, in other words, to make the form clear to the listeners. Look at one of the finest of his piano sonatas (that in C minor written quite late in his career, in 1784), which is generally placed with the great Fantasia written in the following year. The chief beauty of the sonata rests upon the use Mozart makes of the opening figure,

Ex. 11.



which strides majestically through a great part of the development and contrasts splendidly with the delicate second subject in E flat. But if you count back eight bars from the double bar, you will find that at that point Mozart had reached a perfect cadence in E flat emphatically stated, when similar though less emphatic cadences had been reached at four and eight bars previously. Yet that was not quite enough to make the balance of key and rhythm sure. Four more bars were needed before Mozart could feel that the moment had come to reintroduce the first theme (Ex. 11). He filled those bars with two more perfect cadences, repeating subdominant, dominant, and tonic chords, the ones which define the key by covering the whole of its scale (see Part I, p. 11). The process is scarcely disguised by the triplet figure in the right hand, and the passage adds nothing to the musical interest of the piece. Mozart's treatment of it when he arrives at the corresponding point near the end shows that he felt it to be only a kind of punctuation. Now, when he felt it less necessary to emphasize the key, he improved the passage considerably by carrying it on into a fine *coda* based upon the principal theme (Ex. 11).

Many such places are to be seen in the piano sonatas, but there is not one in the richly imaginative Fantasia in C minor, where Mozart was free from formal impediments. There is no hint of concession to formality here, yet its form presents the ideas with

crystalline clearness. If you examine the passages by which the various sections are linked together and the chief transitions of key are made, you will find that each one is the outcome of some rhythmic idea which is quite essential to the beauty of the music. The first, for example, is brought about by the impulsive statement of an exquisitely tender phrase in B minor (bar 22), which later on becomes the principal theme of the *andantino* in B flat. Its three bass quavers are dwelt upon until the music settles down upon F sharp, and the repetition of this note gives rise to the lovely melody in D which follows. Again, when this has been unfolded, it is by dwelling reflectively upon one of its features that Mozart prepares the way for the bold contrast of the *allegro*. Here the punctuation is as definite as any one could wish it to be, but it is achieved without any musical sacrifice. The whole work shows Mozart making consummate use of the principle underlying sonata form, the principle which joins together a number of ideas presented in succession, without being bound by the strict order of ideas, the customary contrasts of tonic and dominant keys, the central development, and the restatement at the end.

C. P. E. Bach and Mozart contrasted

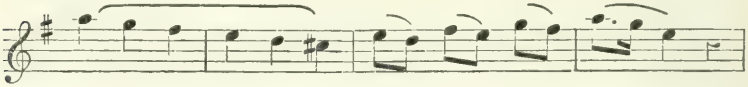
We may clinch the matter of the progress made by the Viennese composers, Haydn and Mozart, over that of C. P. E. Bach in Northern Germany if we lay side by side two piano sonatas from these two sources which appeared at about the same time. We will take one by Mozart and one by C. P. E. Bach, in the same key (Mozart, piano sonata in G, Peters edition, No. 14; C. P. E. Bach, sonata in G, published Leipzig, 1779, No. 4 in the collection edited by Hans von Bülow, Peters edition).

Probably the first thing that strikes you when you look at the pages is that Mozart's sonata is much the easier to read and to play. C. P. E. Bach's, though marked *Allegro moderato*, is full of rapid passages in very complicated rhythms. The page is black with semiquavers, demisemiquavers, and even semidemisemiquavers; moreover, sometimes these are grouped in triplets (three

in the time of two demisemiquavers, for example), and sometimes into quintuplets (five in the time of four). It means a good deal of mental and finger agility to divide a fairly quick crotchet beat accurately into four, six, eight, ten, twelve, or sixteen parts, especially when the musical figures lie by no means easily under the hand, and on the face of it the contrast between this elaboration of detail and Mozart's style which here never divides the beat into more than six parts (and that only by an occasional triplet figure in the development) is important.

Mozart's lifelong experience as a public player had taught him that such things are confusing to the minds of the player and his listeners, and so he kept them entirely for the slow movements where there was more time to appreciate them. Yet without resort to them he had plenty of means at his disposal for brilliant ornamentation of a kind which was to a certain extent the result of another experience, the florid arias of Italian opera. You will find that he has a habit of saying a thing twice ; like Browning's thrush 'he sings each song twice over', but very often he adds decoration to the melody when he repeats it as the voice of the singer would, without disturbing its outline, but enhancing its 'first fine careless rapture'. Look at bar 23 of this sonata, where a new idea (second subject) begins. The four-bar melody in its simplest form would be this :

Ex. 12.



but even on its first statement Mozart gives it a special lilt by throwing its accents on to the weak parts of the beats. Then he repeats it with tripping semiquaver figures, and if you glance at the passage just before the double bar (bar 45), you will find the same idea coming in again (though it begins a note higher, on B this time), and that this new version of it is immediately decorated with a figure in broken semiquavers.

The habit gives an extraordinary clarity to everything which Mozart says. C. P. E. Bach cannot touch him in this ; on the

contrary, the latter starts boldly upon his elaborate scheme, passing rapidly from one part of it to another, often indulging in the most abstruse detail at points where the harmonic movement is involved (see bars 16–20), and pouring out a wealth of ideas which are likely to escape all but the most diligent listeners. We feel that he is determined to say and do much more than Mozart in the same time. If we consider one of C. P. E. Bach's long bars as equal to two of Mozart's short ones, the passage from the beginning to the double bar is about equal in the two sonatas. C. P. E. Bach covers it in twenty-six bars, Mozart in fifty-three, but we come to Mozart's double bar with a much more accurate knowledge of what has taken place than we are likely to have when we reach C. P. E. Bach's double bar.

The middle sections, too, present a curious difference. Mozart's is not, strictly speaking, a 'development' at all. Its nineteen bars deal with an entirely new theme which has nothing whatever to do with anything already heard. C. P. E. Bach starts with his first subject in the dominant, just as he always did in the early sonatas (see p. 63), and deals conscientiously with the material also in nineteen bars (that is about twice the length of Mozart's nineteen). But it is so much in the same style as the first part that the development scarcely makes the matter clearer. When Mozart comes to his restatement the ideas are perfectly clear in our minds in spite of the digression. They are probably clearer than C. P. E. Bach's, although he has never digressed for a moment; we can follow the modifications of them required by the necessary changes of key with complete ease, and they are all the fresher for the relief which the middle section has given.

The comparison is all the more interesting because there can be no doubt that C. P. E. Bach's is the more earnest and deeply felt work of the two. Mozart's is a mere offshoot of his genius; he cannot have cared very much about it, and we need not, once we have realized the ease with which he modelled his material. When this is done we can pass on to the individual study of a few of the great works of the two Viennese masters, Haydn and Mozart, and try to appreciate some of their qualities over and above purely technical considerations.

ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER IV

1. Play Ex. 4, from slow movement by C. P. E. Bach, and Ex. 7 from Haydn. Also the first movement of Beethoven's sonata, Op. 31, No. 2, to illustrate instrumental recitative.

[The earlier set of sonatas by C. P. E. Bach is not published in any generally available edition.]

2. Play passages from Haydn's first quartet, Op. 1, No. 1, in B flat (Payne's miniature score, No. 170, 6*d.*).

[It is possible to give a fair idea of many of Haydn's earlier quartets by playing them from the score as a duet on the piano. One player can play the two violin parts, the other the violoncello part, the viola part being divided between them according to circumstance. Some of the later quartets are arranged as piano duets (Peters edition, 993, *a–d*, 4 vols., 2*s.* 2*d.* each.]

3. The detailed descriptions of Haydn's quartets, Op. 17, Nos. 1 and 6, must be illustrated in the same way, and followed in the scores (Payne's miniature scores, Nos. 111 and 90).

[The importance of the second subject in the former must be emphasized.]

4. The folk-song on which the first movement of Op. 17, No. 6 is built, may be played as given in Dr. Hadow's book, *A Croatian Composer*, and followed by Haydn's version of it in the first violin part.

5. Play Mozart's piano sonata in C minor, first movement (18 sonatas, Peters edition, 485, 2*s.* 9*d.*).

6. Play the Fantasia in C minor following it, noticing particularly the way the various sections are linked together (same publication as the above).

7. Play and compare C. P. E. Bach's sonata in G (Peters edition, 276, 2*s.* 2*d.*) and Mozart's sonata (No. 14 in the collection named above).

CHAPTER V

QUARTET AND SYMPHONY

HAYDN and Mozart naturally fill the foreground of our picture at this date, but to treat them as though they were the whole musical picture of the time would be to give a very distorted impression, and in the end to dwarf their stature. Even apart from the constant flow of operatic composers from Italy, musical activity was exceedingly widely spread through the middle of the eighteenth century. The Viennese composers created a flowering time in which instrumental music in many kinds, from sonatas for one or two instruments to every sort of combination of wind and strings and symphonies for full orchestra, was poured forth with an exuberance which baffles strict classification. Haydn's symphonies in the catalogue of Messrs. Breitkopf & Härtel number a hundred and four, beside which Mozart's fifty seems a comparatively modest output, and to them must be added in both cases quantities of other works for orchestra (cassations, divertimenti, serenades, &c.) considered to be too slight to be dignified with the name of symphony.

LESSER COMPOSERS

Other composers vied with them in this. There were, for example, LUIGI BOCCHERINI (1743–1805), whose instrumental compositions, many of them unprinted, are computed to number something nearer to five than four hundred, and KARL DITTERS VON DITTERSDORF (1739–99), who, besides his many contributions to German light opera, was assiduous in the composition of string quartets and symphonies.

Many of the flowers of this musical spring-time were to fade without bearing any fruit, and the greater part of the work of these two men suffered this fate, but to mention them here is not merely to recall dead names. You may meet specimens of

their music at concerts and catch a glimpse of their characters from them. Both were string players. Boccherini was trained by his father as a violoncello player, and passed much of his life touring as a performer. His sonatas and concertos for that instrument were famous, and remained popular after much of his other music was forgotten. One sonata (in A) is a favourite work with violoncellists at the present day because of the great effect with which the special capacities of the violoncello are used. There is remarkable vigour and freshness in its melodies, brilliancy and humour in its decorative passages, tender expression in its *adagio*. In some ways its form is more like that of the older sonata types of which Tartini's violin music is an example, than like the style which the Viennese composers were pushing forward so vigorously. Boccherini's chamber music for strings is now chiefly remembered by one movement, a very graceful minuet in A from his string quintet in E major, written, as all his quintets were, for two violins, one viola, and two violoncellos. You may hear the minuet played as an orchestral piece for strings at the Promenade Concerts held at Queen's Hall in the autumn.

Dittersdorf received his early training as a violinist in the orchestra of St. Stephen's at Vienna, where both the Haydns were choristers (see pp. 37 and 38), and as we saw before, his friendship with Joseph Haydn in Vienna did much to mould the style of his composition. Some of his string quartets are heard from time to time at modern concerts of chamber music, and as with the minuet of Boccherini, so with these quartets, the first impression that one gets from them is that they are rather like Haydn in his less adventurous moments. One finds many of the same turns of expression, harmonies, means of moving from key to key, and of filling in the details of accompaniment. One learns from them, in fact, to what extent Haydn's music was merely using the current language of the time, and when we have done so we can appreciate more easily how far Haydn went beyond the current language in the individual stamp of his melodies and particularly in the originality of his rhythms.

Nothing misrepresents Haydn and Mozart so completely as the attempt to explain them, and almost to apologize for them

by reminding people that they lived in an age of formality, moved in the polite society of courts, and wore wigs and powder and ruffles. They did all these things, and the manners of their time are no doubt reflected in the more obvious characteristics of their music, just as they are in the music of their lesser contemporaries, such as those we have mentioned. But the true characters of big men stand out clearly, no matter what their manners or their dress may be. It is when we hear the music of the smaller men that we have to prepare ourselves by adopting a frame of mind which is in sympathy with the external conditions of their lives. We shall enjoy Boccherini's minuet the more for picturing to ourselves some courtly dance in a Viennese ballroom; when we turn to the minuets of Haydn's later symphonies and quartets, the rhythms in the irregular number of bars (3, 5, 6, or 7 as contrasted with the ordinary 4 and 8 bar measures) seem calculated seriously to upset the usages of polite dancing. Indeed, his minuets have little more to do with the dance than have his first movements and adagios. It is the man himself, with his irrepressible humour and vitality, who stands up before us, and it is because both Haydn and Mozart put themselves into their works that they live, while their contemporaries have died, or only survive for the picture which they make of a time foreign to our own.

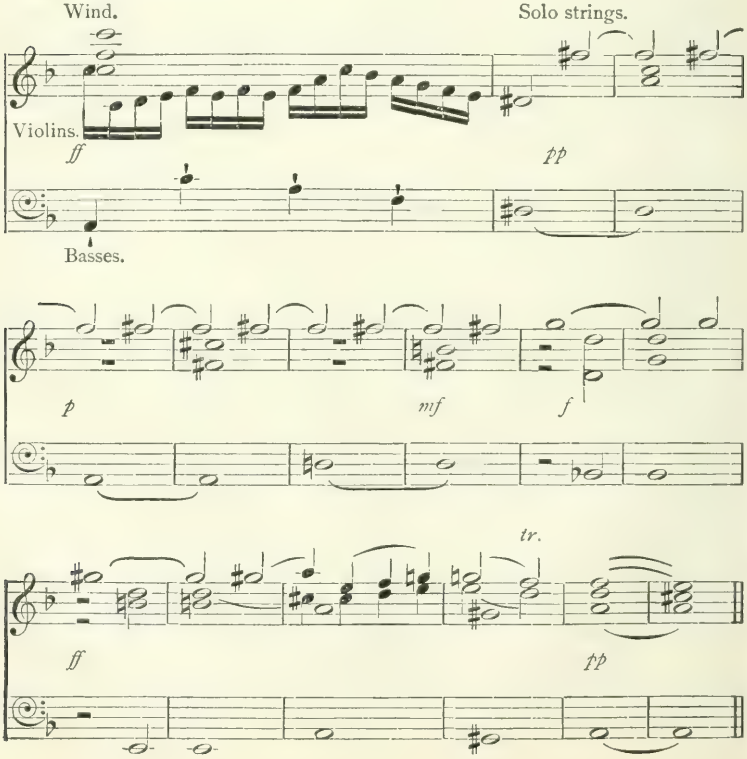
The impulse to make something new and self-existing with the orchestra was not confined to one local area. Stamitz, who founded the famous Mannheim orchestra (see p. 33), poured out symphony upon symphony for his players; C. P. E. Bach, whose harpsichord sonatas were, as we have seen, his most important contribution to musical literature, also developed the symphony in Berlin. But the few specimens by the latter which have been published give the impression that he was struggling with technical problems which made it impossible to express his ideas naturally and without restraint.

Those written about 1776, a date at which Haydn's style was fully formed and Mozart was just arriving at maturity, have some bold features of design, strong principal themes for the strings, occasionally interesting episodes for the wind (flutes, oboes, and horns, the bassoons generally reinforce the bass strings) and

some striking passages of harmony—things which show the original mind of the composer. But between the flashes of inspiration there is a good deal which seems put there chiefly to keep up a busy movement.

One very interesting characteristic in C. P. E. Bach's symphonies is his fondness for linking the three movements together, and it is all the more remarkable because it was not his usual practice when writing sonatas for the harpsichord. He would follow the final cadence of a symphonic movement with a passage leading boldly out of the key, preparing the mind for what was to follow, such as this one which joins the *allegro* and the *larghetto* of his symphony in F:

Ex. 13.



Since the slow movement is in the key of D minor this passage has no mere utilitarian purpose of modulation. He could have gone straight from one key to another had he wanted to, but he interpolated this passage simply because of its big emotional power, akin to the 'et expecto' of his father's Mass in B minor (see Part I, p. 122). In his symphony in D major[1] there is a similar passage at the end of the first movement, but here it has an obvious usefulness, for the slow movement is in the key of E flat, and it was so unusual to place the slow movement in a key a semitone above the first that the composer may well have felt that it needed some justification in the way of a gradual modulation.

In each case, too, the slow movement passes directly into the bright *presto* which ends the symphony, so that we see C. P. E. Bach determined to get away as far as possible from the old suite form and to ensure his symphonies being listened to as a whole (cf. Beethoven's later sonatas, p. 167).

Comparison of Haydn and Mozart

In his early years Haydn's manner of handling the orchestra was almost as much behind his treatment of the string quartet as C. P. E. Bach's was behind his treatment of the harpsichord. But the quartet led naturally to the orchestra in a way a keyed instrument does not. A man who can handle four instruments in such a way as to respect their individuality and at the same time fuse them into his scheme of thought is in a fair way to be able to do the same with forty. The problem is really the same upon a larger scale. Just as we have seen Haydn learning that the viola was not to be treated as a mere make-weight to the general force of the quartet (p. 28), so in his early symphonies we find him gradually appreciating the special qualities of the wind instruments. The symphony called 'Le Midi', composed soon after he took up his duties at Eisenstadt (1761), shows him enjoying the contrasts which can be gained between the pure tone of the flutes and the plaintive, almost human, cry of the oboes.

[1] This symphony is published in Peters edition (1056) as a piano duet. See list of illustrations at the end of this chapter.

The bassoons were gradually freed from their subservience to the bass strings. He realized them as the appropriate bass to the oboes, or as the complement to the horns, whose scale was imperfect; and the horns too, though in the early symphonies they do a good deal of merely filling up obvious notes in loud passages, soon began to have moments when they supplied a touch of tender expression all their own. Yet it is quite probable that Haydn would never have arrived at that masterly treatment of the orchestral instruments found in his late symphonies written for Paris and London, had it not been for the example of Mozart, whose brilliant achievements appeared in the middle of Haydn's career before his own greatest symphonies were written.

The different temperaments of the two men account for the fact that Mozart, though so much the younger, and though he owed an immense debt to Haydn's initiative, as he himself declared, became during the few years of his grown-up life the leader. Haydn, overflowing with life and good spirits, in love with his musical ideas, and never at a loss to express them, had little inducement to rivet his attention upon details. Mozart's nature was more delicately poised and more sensitive to impressions. This quality must have been immensely quickened by all his early travel. He had moved among men of very different modes of thought, and the accounts given in his letters, when travelling in Germany, France, and Italy, show that nothing was lost upon him, but that every aspect of the thoughts and feelings of mankind, especially as expressed in art, made an instant appeal to him. He was by all the circumstances of his life far the more cultivated creature of the two, and this gave to his music a polish, a niceness of perception, and sometimes a fastidiousness of taste, which the other lacked.

We love Haydn at once for his robust simplicity and buoyancy of spirit; Mozart needs more knowledge before we can appreciate him to an equal extent. His was the kind of character which, when it is found in smaller men, is apt to fail by giving too much devotion to matters of style and good taste. Mendelssohn, for example, who half a century later brought the same characteristics to his art, just missed appealing strongly to men of all

times because in the greater number of his works he was content to have expressed himself in the most perfect way possible. But with his sensitiveness to impressions, which Mendelssohn shared, Mozart had a depth of feeling which Mendelssohn, for all his charm, lacked. The struggles and distresses of Mozart's life emphasized the deeper side of his nature and made him turn his refinement of style to its true purpose, that of expressing his feelings with greater acuteness, and at times poignancy, than Haydn with his easier career could reach.

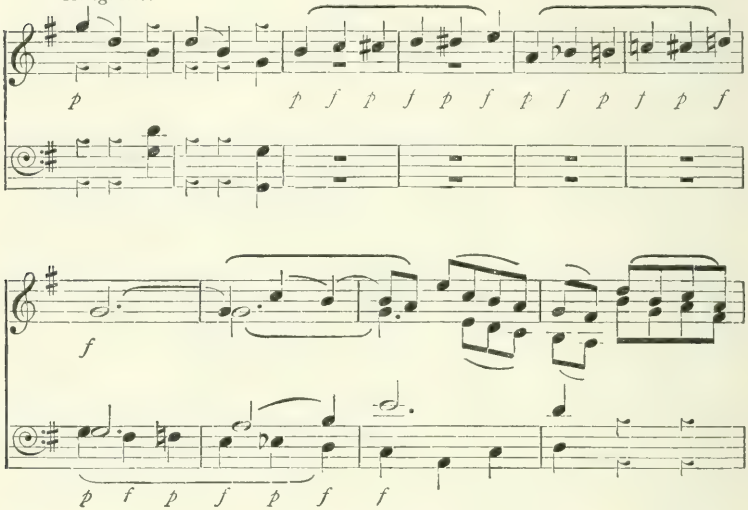
There is a symphony by Mozart (Köchel 183, in G minor), written when he settled down at Salzburg in 1773, which is among the first by him to show his capacity for deep feeling in an unmistakable way. In its first movement there is a beautiful smooth melody for the oboe, dropping by wide intervals in which the diminished seventh is prominent, and contrasting with the strings, who play the same melody with agitated syncopations. Incidentally it is a remarkable instance of Mozart's sensitiveness to the opposed effects obtainable from the wind and stringed instruments, but one feels that he has arrived at the perfect balance between them because he had something which he very much wanted to say, and his highly cultivated perceptions found for him the most appropriate means.

We cannot contrast the natures of Haydn and Mozart more directly than by making a comparison between the string quartets which Mozart wrote and dedicated to Haydn and those of Haydn himself of about the same period. A very salient example is found in the minuet of the first of Mozart's set in G major (Köchel 387), where, if anywhere, one might expect to find reflections of Haydn, who had stamped his personality more distinctly upon the minuet than upon any other type of movement. The best that most men, Boccherini for instance, could do in this direction was to produce a polite dance measure enlivened with some of the characteristics of Haydn's style of workmanship. Mozart's is an entirely new view of the minuet. It is true that the first two bars give a hint of the formal lilt of the dance, but that is done of set purpose, to act as a foil to the strangely accented chromatic passages which follow on the

first violin copied in contrary motion by the violoncello. The charm lies in first setting a familiar pattern, then wiping it out, and finally re-establishing it at the cadence, as shown in the ten bars of Ex. 14.

Ex. 14.

Allegretto.



The whole movement must be played in order to grasp its originality. It is to be noted that its form irrespective of the *trio* is that of a regular sonata movement with a second subject, a development and a recapitulation of both themes.

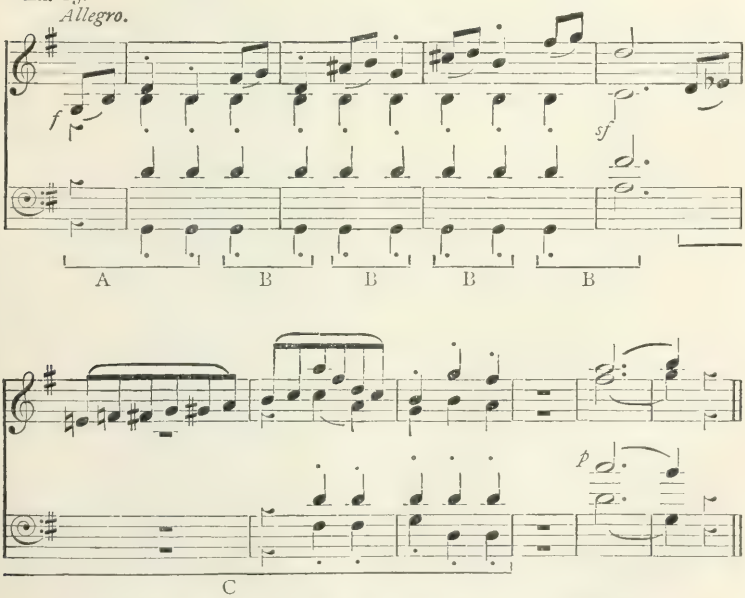
This chromatic melody resulting, where the instruments combine, in chromatic harmony, the imitations between the instruments and the minute, almost meticulous phrasing, are peculiarly Mozart's own, and, broadly speaking, we may say that to dwell upon chromatic intervals of melody (i.e. melody moving by semitones in place of the principal notes of the scale) is a sign of subtle thought and of a delicate brooding kind of emotion.

Haydn was generally too impulsive to think and feel in this way, and when his melody becomes chromatic it is usually so in order to give richness of colouring. Compare with this minuet the

corresponding movement in Haydn's quartet in G (Op. 33, No. 5)[1] written for his visit to Vienna, on which the two composers first met.

Example 15 gives its chief idea (also ten bars long), in which Haydn hustles the rhythm by contracting the phrase of three beats (A) into two (B), bringing unexpected accents upon the weak beats of the bar, but never resting until the fourth bar is reached. Mozart also gets crossed accents by the use of his *p's* and *f's*, but he does it through deliberate thought, Haydn through sheer impulse. Then when Haydn indulges in a chromatic passage for the first violin (C) he rushes through it as part of a wider sweep of melody, is pulled up short by a bar's pause, and, having made us hold our breath in expectancy, ends humorously with a soft cadence.

Ex. 15.



[1] It is worth noticing that in these six quartets (Op. 33), generally called the 'Russian' because they were composed to greet a Russian archduke on his visit to Vienna, the name 'scherzo' is used in place of minuet. The name and its meaning is discussed in connexion with Beethoven (p. 164).

Look further into the movement and see what comes of it, and you find that the chromatic passage (C) was only a momentary flight of imagination. There is nothing to correspond with the intimate use which Mozart makes of his chromatic crotchets. The rhythms, A and B, crowd the short development, but C comes back only at the end, where the whole theme is repeated. Haydn was carried along on the wings of his first impulse ; Mozart dwelt upon the inward significance of his idea.

Mozart's Style in Chamber Music

While we have this quartet of Mozart before us, it is worth while to pay some attention to the *finale*. It is a very quick movement begun by the second violin with a phrase of semibreves slurred together under one stroke of the bow. The other instruments imitate this phrase in the manner of a fugue. When all have played it new themes make their appearance ; a running tune in quavers passed from one instrument to another, and a figure dropping by semitones for the two violins lead to the dominant key. From that point a new fugue subject is started by the violoncello, treated by all, and then combined with the first one, leading to the full close in D major and the double bar familiar in sonata form. One of Mozart's favourite chromatic figures introduces the development in which we are carried through various remote keys while the first fugue subject is combined with chromatic harmony. On reaching the key of C major (sub-dominant) the tune in running quavers makes its reappearance and leads to a recapitulation, in the course of which the two fugue subjects are heard simultaneously and all the diverse material is reviewed in a concentrated form.

The rapid sketch of the contents by itself can give no idea of the vivacity and variety of the music ; it merely gives a few indications of how the movement may be analysed when it is heard and known. It points to the fact that here Mozart has woven together the means of interest supplied by two musical forms, the fugue and the sonata, which in their earlier stages seemed to be opposed to one another. We have seen that Haydn

a good many years before, in the D minor quartet, Op. 42 (see p. 30), had done something on these lines, but he had shown nothing like the same richness of design or facility of treatment which Mozart displays here. The finale of Haydn's D minor quartet is a very primitive affair compared with this movement. Mozart's contrapuntal style is extraordinarily easy. There is no hint that he is doing anything unusual or working out a design in which there are any incompatible elements. The fugal texture is as natural as that of J. S. Bach, the sonata plan as completely convincing as that of Haydn at his best. There is not a note or a phrase which seems put there in order to fill up a space in the design ; every detail is necessary to the expression of his thought.

This contrapuntal ease was another element brought by Mozart to the partnership in which the two great men worked in their later years, and in his last symphonies and quartets Haydn caught fresh fire from it. Mozart has a captivating way of giving a free rein to his fancy in the invention of melodies which follow one another as though by accident, but as the music develops one finds that these melodies all have a connexion with one another. A fragment of one strikes across the path of another, they are heard simultaneously, they contradict one another or merge into each other.

A fascinating instance of this is the first movement of the beautiful string quintet in G minor (1787) written when he was at the very height of his powers in the year that *Don Giovanni* was produced at Prague, and that town showed its good sense by going mad about him. Nothing could be more apparently unpremeditated than the wayward melody, half diatonic, half chromatic, which the first violin initiates above a simple accompaniment played by the second violin and first viola, or the little tripping downward figure which the violoncello copies from the first violin just before the second subject in B flat, yet presently we find these two being played off upon one another in the closest relationship, and the varieties of shape which the first tune assumes in the course of the development are almost bewildering to the senses and quite baffle analysis on paper. Even if we succeeded in making an analysis of every detail there would

be still something missed, a fragrance, a delicate wit, and an underlying current of sadness which it is impossible to account for. And it is that unaccountable quality which is Mozart's self.

Mozart and the Orchestra

Such a temperament as Mozart's, backed by that extraordinary facility in expressing itself aptly, was bound to exercise the strongest influence upon the development of the orchestra. The orchestra is, in fact, the most complex tool in the hands of the musician (see p. 31), and only a highly sensitive nature could discover its most subtle uses.

Mozart wrote symphonies from his childhood; but the first in which he spoke distinctly with his own voice, the G minor symphony (Köchel 183), was also the first to give a strong indication of advance in the treatment of the instruments. Many of the works of subsequent years were less striking than this one. Those which are most often heard are the 'Paris' symphony in D (Köchel 297), the one work with which he was allowed to make an important appearance in Paris on his visit of 1778 (see p. 48), a symphony in B flat (Köchel 319) for small orchestra without flutes, which has had several performances in London recently, and which may be taken as a fair specimen of his less inspired work, the Haffner [1] symphony in D (Köchel 385), and the one also in D written for Prague (see p. 51). But all pale before the three masterpieces of 1788, the symphonies in E flat (Köchel 543), G minor (Köchel 550), and C major, called the Jupiter (Köchel 551).

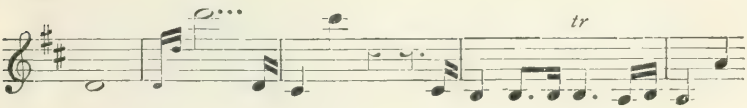
The Paris symphony is not among his most deeply-felt things; the circumstances hardly allowed it to be so. After waiting for months in Paris to get a hearing, hoping for the chance of producing an opera, the opportunity to write a symphony for the 'Concert spirituel' seemed to Mozart to be only a make-shift. Moreover, he was in a restless and unhappy frame of mind, caused by the breaking off of his engagement to Aloysia Weber and his mother's death. He was hampered in its composi-

[1] A later work than the serenade mentioned on p. 46.

tion by being told that the players prided themselves upon their brilliant attack, and he was asked to give plenty of scope for the display of that quality, so that it was clear that they did not want so much to hear Mozart as to hear themselves. He gave them what they wanted. The symphony opens with a brave flourish and then settles down to the discussion of a busily moving figure first played in unison. It is surprising how much interest Mozart gets out of not very promising material. Its three movements (there is no minuet) are scored with great variety of colour, and the opening of the finale where the first violins give out a crisp tune against rapid staccato quavers played by the second violins is just the thing wanted to show off the skill of the players' bowing.

The 'Haffner' symphony, written four years later, has something of the same arresting brilliance in its opening phrase, but here what seems to be a display of virtuosity at first (Ex. 16) is turned to extraordinarily fine musical uses later.

Ex. 16.



Through all the development of the first movement this phrase dominates the score; while one instrument is playing the long notes of its first two bars another is beating out the emphatic rhythm of its fourth. The *andante* contrasts with the strenuousness of the first movement by the delicacy of its themes, and their ornamentation with passages in rapid notes which, like similar ornaments in the piano sonatas of Mozart (see p. 76), seem to spring to his mind as memories of the graceful *coloratura* of the opera. Here, too, we have a very charming minuet, not developed elaborately like that of the G major quartet, but made of a few phrases of melody in which the instruments give strong contrasts of colour. The oboes and bassoons who lead the trio give a delightful relief from the more glowing tones of the strings in the minuet itself. But the *finale* shows him in

his most vivacious vein. There is something peculiarly piquant about its principal theme played *piano* by the strings in unison and the outburst of merriment which follows it. Each time that Mozart comes back to this tune he has a new way of gliding into it, so that every time it seems to take us unawares and produce a fresh feeling of playful mystery.

The Prague symphony does not begin straight away with the *allegro*, but opens with a slow movement which forms an introduction to the symphony and leads up to the first *allegro*. This was a common practice with both Haydn and Mozart, and has been followed by later composers of symphonies, among whom were Beethoven in his second, fourth, and seventh symphonies and Brahms in his first.

Very often it seems to be merely a survival of the idea of the French overture (see Lully, Part I, p. 68), which was adopted very freely by composers of all nations, the idea that an important work ought to have an imposing opening to arrest attention, but the great men often used it to much better purpose. The slow introduction to the Prague symphony does open in a rather formal way ; its first bars reiterating the keynote D with triplet figures running up to it from the dominant A is one of Mozart's common figures of speech (compare the beginning of the Jupiter symphony), but common figures of speech, or 'pet phrases', as they are called, do not much matter either in language or in music when the man who uses them has really got something to say. They are irritatingly offensive when he has not, and is only writing or talking for effect. Mozart has something to say, as you realize when, after this opening phrase, he marches up the notes of the key chord and reaches a chord of F sharp major resolving on to B minor. This striking harmonic idea gives him his chief text for the introduction. Notice it repeated softly on another pair of chords and yet again by the wood-wind (flutes, oboes, and bassoons) passing into E minor, from which point the violins begin a new melody. Bold modulations of key occur in the introduction (D minor, B flat, G minor) as though the composer wished to range widely before he settles down to the main business of his scheme. There are also strong

contrasts of tone ; at one moment the whole orchestra is massed upon a big chord; at another, delicate figures for the violins or separate wind instruments are heard individually.

The variety of Mozart's orchestration can be well studied here and in the *allegro* which follows. See, for instance, how many details go to make up the interest of the chief *allegro* theme; there are the violins playing a throbbing syncopated figure, the basses pressing up beneath them, also syncopated, though in a broader style, then the flutes and oboes in octaves rippling down the scale followed by a plaintive melody for the oboe alone. The development, too, is quite entrancing in the way the separate instruments dovetail into one another and especially the game they make with that downward scale passage which the flutes and oboes first introduced.

The slow movement gives a good example of Mozart's fondness for chromatic decoration of his melody, for after two bars of very simple outline the violins begin the process, and when the flutes take up the tune they carry the chromatic variation still further. It is altogether a most tenderly thought out movement beautifully coloured by the instruments. Again, there is no minuet. In the *finale* the violins begin a race which is taken up by all the members of the orchestra in turn. Though it has none of the more serious elements of a fugue, such as we found in the finale of the quartet in G, the chasing of one instrument by another, the imitations and suggestions of 'stretto', show how thoroughly at home Mozart was in a contrapuntal style. The whole symphony strikes one as intensely happy, so that it stands as a truly fitting record of one of the brightest moments in Mozart's career, which contained too few bright moments, when for the time he felt all the flush of success and the joy of a friendly enthusiasm around him.

The reason why the world has agreed to place the three masterpieces of 1788 in a place apart by themselves seems to be that each is so unlike the others and unlike those which had gone before. We may agree that nothing more brilliant in its own way could be conceived than the Prague symphony, but we have seen him working in its direction in the Paris and Haffner

symphonies and elsewhere. Each one of these three sheds an entirely new light on Mozart's character. We may establish certain comparisons usefully, find likenesses of style between the first movement of the symphony in G minor and that of the string quintet in the same key, or the still more striking one between the *finale* of the Jupiter and that of the quartet in G, but the essential character of each is all its own.

The symphony in E flat has a breadth and graciousness of outline which it would be difficult to match in any work before Beethoven. Mozart uses a larger orchestra than in most of his symphonies, and clarinets take the place of oboes. The score contains one flute, two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, drums, and strings; that is, the same instruments as in the Jupiter with the exception that the Jupiter has oboes instead of clarinets.

The symphony in E flat begins with an *adagio* introduction, as the Prague symphony does, but instead of a unison rhythm we have a majestic one in full harmony. Moreover, this rhythm is the basis of the whole introduction. When the strings vary it with rapid downward scales it is reiterated softly on the wood-wind; when the flute adds a new interest in a passage of broken quavers the same rhythm is heard throbbing on a single note played low down by violas, violoncellos, and basses. It is partly veiled by a long roll on the drums, but asserts itself again strongly when the violins, horns, trumpets, and drum, in fact all the stronger members of the orchestra, combine to lead towards a climax of tone. The whole orchestra breaks off upon a strong discord, after which a soft phrase of melody, curiously scored for flute, violin, and bassoon playing in three octaves, leads to the *allegro*. The introduction shows well how far Mozart's orchestration had proceeded. He is just a little tentative in his use of the clarinets; the brass instruments are chiefly rhythmic, but this last phrase shows his appreciation of wood-wind and strings not only as elements of contrast but in combination forming together new tints.

There is, too, a new feeling in the *allegro*. He has passed beyond the stage at which a quick movement is necessarily one

of lively feeling. The gently swaying tune from which it grows is as different as possible from the crisply pointed rhythm of most of his earlier *allegro* themes. Its orchestration, too, is so delicately wrought that he must, one feels certain, have thought of the tune and the instruments playing it together. The violin begins and is immediately echoed by the horns ; it adds a second phrase, to which bassoons respond. Then we have the tune more richly sounded by violoncellos and basses, and against that clarinets and flutes echoing its ideas while the higher strings decorate it with new harmony. It is exceedingly simple, yet this one page is sufficient to show why we speak of Mozart as a great master of orchestration. It is because every note adds an indispensable touch to the colour, and if you can read this page of the score and really hear mentally the instruments you have gone some way towards mastering one of the problems which it becomes more difficult to explain as we come nearer to the music of our own time, the problem of orchestral sound.

We must not attempt to analyse the E flat symphony, though it would be interesting to trace through all its phases of melody and colour that peculiar graciousness which is the chief factor in its individuality. The fascinating slow movement in A flat, though trumpets and drums are omitted, is as full of variety of colour as the first movement. The full orchestra reasserts itself in the vigorous minuet, and one cannot pass by this movement without specially pointing to the trio. For here more than anywhere else we see what new resource the clarinet brought to the orchestra. The melody of the trio is played by the first clarinet accompanied by the second one in an *arpeggio* figure. Two oboes playing this would have a very buzzy effect ; the more liquid tones of the clarinets ripple instead of buzzing.

As regards the *finale* we must only glance at the first and last bars in order to realize the originality of the ending. In many symphonies of the eighteenth century the ending seems to us now a little laboured. Composers seemed to find it necessary to go on repeating perfect cadences and striking big chords, and

Mozart did so as constantly as anybody. But here the first phrase of his principal tune is the last phrase of the symphony. He seems to have caught a gleam from Haydn's humour in ending with delightful abruptness, and, though not quite so daring, this ending is to some extent in the same spirit as that of J. S. Bach's second Brandenburg Concerto (see Part I, p. 158).

The G minor symphony is framed on a smaller scale; the orchestra is the usual small one without trumpets, drums, or clarinets, and with oboes. There is no attempt to make a stately impression at the outset; the first melody of the *allegro* slips shyly into existence, its little pairs of quavers gathering confidence for a wider sweep as a young bird flutters its wings before flying. As in the quintet, the form of the tune gives rise to all sorts of developments later, yet though many things happen the first fresh beauty is never brushed off. The whole is extraordinarily supple and buoyant from the first tune onward to the soaring *arpeggio* which gives the motive power to the *finale*. The G minor symphony is lyrical while the 'Jupiter' is dramatic, and that is why it is so intensely lovable.

We will make no analysis of it here. If the examples and comparisons of these two chapters have been understood they will suggest general lines which may act as guides in the study of this and other symphonies by Mozart and Haydn. There is no more delightful musical adventure than taking a symphony which one has heard once or twice and exploring over the whole ground, finding what is unexpected in the developments of rhythm and harmony, the changes of key, and the new colours given by the different uses of the instruments. To map out the ground, set up signposts, and provide a chart would be to spoil the sport of the true adventurer. Try your own luck with Mozart's G minor symphony.

We have already described some of the characteristics of the first movement of the 'Jupiter' for purposes of illustration (see p. 9), and have suggested a comparison of its *finale* with that of the quartet in G major. Here the trumpets and drums are again in the score, and although there is no slow introduction

we feel at once that the whole is in the grand manner. The slow movement with its impassioned outbursts of tone striking across its smooth aria-like melodies, the very full treatment of the minuet, and the *finale* with its many themes combined in the closest counterpoint, all help to carry out the largeness of design which makes it deserve the name of the greatest of the gods.

Mozart's Piano Concertos

We have passed untouched whole tracts of Mozart's kingdom. The chamber music for piano and strings, the music for wind instruments and concertos of various kinds. But we cannot leave the last without a general word as to the piano concertos. His upbringing as a solo performer and his need, even in his latest years, of following that line of art as a profession, combined with his great capacity for dealing with the orchestra, naturally led him to bring the two things together. We know that he would often improvise upon the piano as part of the programme of an orchestral concert. Moreover, by the time that he settled in Vienna, the piano, with its power of producing a singing quality of varied tone, was fairly ousting the harpsichord from its old-established position. The piano was fit to hold its own against orchestral instruments, and in his concertos Mozart set himself to find a balance between them, to make the piano part carry on ideas begun by the orchestra and turn them to more subtle uses, or again to make the orchestra proclaim aloud what the pianist had hinted more gently.

The dramatic interest of a piano concerto is often like that of the speeches of Brutus and Mark Antony on the death of Julius Caesar in Shakespeare's tragedy. The solo instrument is the speaker; the orchestra is the crowd of citizens. In the forum scene (Act III, sc. ii) the citizens cry for satisfaction, Brutus seizes upon their mood and sways it into harmony with his view. When the cries of the people burst out again it is to applaud him and to 'bring him in triumph home into his house'. So moved are they that they will scarcely bear to hear another view, but Mark Antony knows that he equally can

move them in an opposite direction. The comments in the course of his speech begin to chime with his defence.

1st Citizen. Methinks there is much reason in his sayings.
2nd Citizen. If thou consider rightly of the matter,
Caesar has had great wrong.

Till at last the anger of the crowd waxes hotter than his own, and their actions are carried beyond his control. Here we have practically the elements of concerto form as viewed by Mozart. He began his principal theme upon the orchestra, giving it in a more or less elementary way, the piano developing it more fully later on. Then a second passage for the orchestra, called a *ritornello*, would burst in, echoing the piano's statement, and eventually giving way before its second theme. The accompaniments were like the commentaries of the crowd, growing in force until another *ritornello* led to the development.

We must not, of course, press the simile too far, and it would be quite wrong to suggest that tragedy and violence were the underlying currents of Mozart's thought. Far from that, his piano concertos overflow with grace and happiness. It is only in the idea of one mind leading and moulding the mass of lower intelligence that we find a true parallel between the concerto form and the scene in Shakespeare. More modern composers have struck the note of tragedy with it, Brahms, for example, in his concerto in D minor, Op. 15, but Mozart was in the flowering time of music, when pure beauty was the sole end in view, and dialogue of this kind was one means of gaining it.

Apart from these peculiarities the general form of his concertos is that of a sonata in three movements, an *allegro*, a slow movement, generally rather compressed, and a lighter *finale* usually of the rondo type—that is to say, a movement in which one tune alternates with a number of contrasting episodes. His writing for the piano has those elements of flowing melody heightened by decoration which he transported from the operatic aria to his piano sonatas (see p. 76), and generally before the end of his chief movements he allowed himself an opportunity for improvisation in a *cadenza*. The orchestra ceases altogether for a time that the pianist may have a free hand. Very often he

did not even write what should be played, but left it to his own or his successor's imagination at the moment of performance. The *cadenza* is a magnificent opportunity for a great pianist who is also a great musician to show his metal. But, alas, it too often shows us that many a clever pianist is made of more perishable material.

Later Works of Haydn

It would be a very great mistake to ascribe to the influence of Mozart's example all the added richness of harmony and colour which we find in the later quartets and symphonies of Haydn. The early quartets which we have studied show Haydn to be a man of such strong vitality and power of expansion that one must suppose that the latter half of his work would have shown an increase of interest even without the stimulus of Mozart's genius. It would be equally wrong to suggest that the stimulus had the effect of making Haydn write like Mozart. To the very end of his life his style remained so entirely expressive of his own feeling that any one who really knows the work of both men could scarcely ever be deceived into mistaking the one for the other.

The later quartets of Haydn fall naturally into two divisions, those which he wrote in the years of his service to Prince Nicholas, that is to say while Mozart was still living, and those of his old age, when, no longer the servant of a small court, he was regarded as a master by the whole of Europe. The first group contains the six quartets of Op. 50, Opp. 54 and 55 with three quartets in each, and the set of six which make up Op. 64 and are probably the best known of all. The last group contains Opp. 71 and 74 (three quartets each), Op. 76 of six quartets, Opp. 77 and 103.

The fine series of Op. 76 is particularly rich in its slow movements, and it is only in Haydn's increased power of writing broad and deeply-felt melody that one finds a sign of his increasing age. Op. 76, No. 3, has for the subject of its slow movement the magnificent 'Emperor's Hymn' which Haydn

was impelled to compose in order that Austria might have a national anthem worthy to stand beside the one which he had heard in England. This tune is none the less Haydn's because it springs out of his native folk-song. To compare it as it appears in the quartet with the various versions of the popular song[1] is to realize that all its splendour in the balance of its rhythm and the sweep of its melodic curves is the gift of Haydn.[2] In the quartet Haydn has first given the tune, then four so-called variations upon it; they are not real variations, because the tune is always present in its original shape. In the first, the second violin plays it with no other accompaniment than a running counterpoint of the first violin; in the second, the violoncello plays it surrounded by the other three instruments; and in the third, the viola takes it up with more chromatic harmonies wreathed round it. Finally, the tune returns in the fourth variation to the first violin with again fresh harmonies and figures supporting it. This treatment of his own greatest tune, giving each of the four instruments equal rights in it, seems like a profession of Haydn's artistic faith in the capacity of the string quartet.

Other slow movements in the same series which may be taken as typical examples of Haydn's mature melody are the *largo* in F sharp major (Op. 76, No. 5) and the *fantasia* in B major (Op. 76, No. 6). Both these movements are in keys remote from the main key of the quartet, the former occurs in a quartet in D major, the latter in one in E flat major. The freedom of Haydn's modulation from key to key in the latter is a peculiarly strong example of the lesson he had learnt from Mozart and of his way of applying it to his own purpose.

But we must end our view of Haydn with a few examples taken from the symphonies which he wrote for Paris and London. In these he used generally the same orchestra that Mozart had used in his Jupiter symphony; a wood-wind group consisting of one flute, two oboes, and two bassoons, with two horns and

[1] See *A Croatian Composer*, pp. 65–70.

[2] The tune is known to English people as set to the hymn 'Praise the Lord, ye heavens adore Him' (*Hymns A. & M.* 292).

two trumpets and drums for brass and percussion, and strings. One frequently finds the violoncellos and double basses playing independently of one another. He sometimes would make excursions into special effects of orchestration, as for example in the *allegretto* of the 'Military' symphony (No. 12 of the 'Paris' set), where he added clarinets to the wood-wind, and triangle, cymbals, and a tambourine to the percussion, in order to get all the brilliancy and glitter possible. In the *finale* of this symphony the percussion instruments reappear, but the clarinet is dropped out.

The score of No. 10 in the same set, however, which is often called the 'Oxford' symphony, because it was the one performed at the Sheldonian Theatre when the University gave him an honorary degree, represents his normal combination of instruments. It begins with a slow introduction, as do the Prague and E flat symphonies of Mozart, but the introduction is not an emphatic call to attention. On the contrary, a very quiet theme on the strings, like a slow minuet, leads the way. It is the writing of a man who is perfectly confident that he will be listened to; just a quiet reflection upon an idea to which he does not want to attach too great an importance though it has charmed him for the moment. This use of the slow introduction is very prevalent in Haydn's later symphonies. The opening of the famous 'Surprise' symphony in G (No. 3[1] of the Salomon set) is a close parallel to that of the Oxford symphony. Sometimes he would carry the idea further, producing an effect of mystery and holding his audience in suspense until the simple theme of the *allegro* breaks in like a ray of sunshine dispersing the clouds, and sometimes he would give a hint of what that theme would be though for the moment it is disguised by the slow time and the brooding harmony. The symphony in D (Salomon No. 11), often called the 'Clock', because of the ticking effect of *pizzicato* strings and bassoons in the accompaniment to the slow movement, has an introduction which vaguely hints at the scale passage from which the *allegro* starts. A still more striking instance of such a preparation is

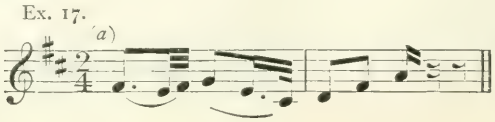
[1] The numbers given here are those of the Philharmonic Society's catalogue.

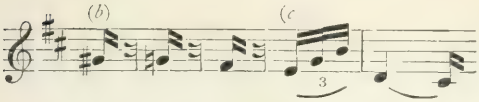
found in the symphony in B flat (Salomon No. 4) which actually begins with the first subject played by the strings in unison with formal sedateness, but changed into the minor key. When that theme arrives in its *allegro* and major form it seems infinitely fresh and full of merriment. The contrast is all the stronger for the likeness.

It is well worth while to go through a dozen or so of Haydn's later symphonies comparing the different means by which he introduces them. One can often tell the experience of an artist, whether musician, actor, or public speaker, by his manner when he first faces his audience. Haydn's manner is one of complete assurance.

But to return to the Oxford symphony, the first *allegro* itself is the least distinctive movement of the four, though its principal theme, swaying to and fro upon the notes of the dominant seventh, sets in motion a strong rhythmic impulse which is maintained throughout. The *adagio*, written in a kind of ternary form of which Haydn was fond (a principal theme in a major key with a contrasting section in the minor and a return), has one of his most perfectly organized melodies, which should be analysed in detail. By the organization of a melody is meant the way in which one phrase gives rise to another so that while there is great variety all the parts seem relevant and each contributes something to a big scheme. Here the scheme covers no less than twenty-eight bars, and every detail is rhythmically connected with one or other of three phrases (Ex. 17), namely, (*a*) the initial phrase of two bars which is extended into a number of different forms, (*b*) a small chromatic passage in bar 7 which first appears incidentally as the approach to the cadence, but afterwards gives rise to the middle section of the tune, bars 17 to 22, and (*c*) a little triplet figure ornamenting the cadence in bar 8 and made more important in the same middle section.

Ex. 17.





The movement is delicately orchestrated. There are little touches on the horns which rival those of Mozart's E flat symphony, and towards the end of the tune the oboe soars away above the strings with intensely poignant effect. The altered orchestration, too, when the theme comes back after the minor section, must not pass unnoticed; the bassoons playing the triplet figure (*c*) against the chromatic one (*b*) of the strings, the oboes, bassoons, and horns echoing the cadence, the violas, violoncellos, and double basses playing the tune below a counterpoint for the violins (compare Mozart's E flat symphony), and finally the coda begun by the wood-wind alone and recalling a passage in the minor section, are all eloquent. It should be added that here Haydn keeps the trumpets and drums in the score instead of dropping them out, as was often done for the slow movement, but he only uses them to emphasize the loud rhythms of the minor section. He considers them to be too noisy to be really expressive.

The minuet should be noticed for its irregular rhythms of six bars, in which Haydn revelled, its surprises in abrupt modulations and sudden pauses in the middle, and the orchestration of the trio in which horns and bassoons are brought together and stand out against the pizzicato of the strings. The *finale* is built upon one of Haydn's most vigorous tunes, and it illustrates as well as anything could what his knowledge of Mozart had added to his technique, while the addition never intrudes for a moment upon his own individuality. The chromatic harmonies which he places against his tune and the contrapuntal treatment which he gives it may be signs of Mozart's influence, but Mozart could no more have written this *finale* than Haydn could have written his G minor symphony. Haydn's frank jollity is expressed in it all, and he uses these means not to suggest any intellectual subtlety, but in order to heighten its vigour.

The well-known symphony in D (Salomon No. 2), one of the

later ones written for England (1795), may very fitly be compared with the Oxford symphony. Here, as in a number of the English symphonies, he uses the full force of wood-wind instruments, two flutes and two clarinets as well as oboes and bassoons, but it is also noticeable that he writes very little music of real distinction for the clarinets. He still seems to regard them, like the trumpets, as something with which to make a big noise. The *adagio* gives the emphatic call to attention in its first two bars, but in the tender passages which follow the clarinets are discarded. On the other hand, it is interesting to see how many delightful opportunities he gives to the bassoon, and in the minuet he shows his appreciation of the wonderful effect to be got from a soft roll on the drum. Another of his symphonies of the same year (Salomon No. 8) has gained the name of the 'Drum Roll' symphony because it begins with a whole bar devoted to a muffled roll on the drum. We are so used to this effect now, since Beethoven has got such wonders from it (see p. 171), that we are apt to forget that once the drum was looked upon as a sort of menial of the orchestra, who could never have anything of his own to say, but must just reinforce the rhythm when he was wanted.

The first movement of this symphony in D is richer in colour and more striking in melody than the first movement of the Oxford symphony, but the slow movement, though written on the same plan, hardly comes up to the earlier one in depth of feeling or beauty of design. To compare the two slow movements is the surest way of realizing what an inspiration the one in the Oxford symphony is. One loves the great moments all the more for distinguishing them above the rest and to do so need not spoil our enjoyment of what does not reach so high. But the finale of the symphony in D is one of the most exciting that Haydn ever wrote, and, like so many of Haydn's best movements, it is based upon a Croatian ballad.[1] The ballad tune is given out at once by the first violin over a drone bass (horns and double basses) its second stanza being taken up by all the orchestra.

[1] See *A Croatian Composer*, p. 43.

Having suggested some of the features of Haydn's later symphonies, particularly those of orchestration, we may now step aside and, as in the case of Mozart, invite those who are keen enough to go on by themselves. There can be no difficulty in getting a very fair practical knowledge of the later symphonies of Haydn from the piano duet transcriptions of twenty-four symphonies in Edition Peters. Unfortunately, however, every edition of scores or transcriptions numbers the symphonies differently, and so, to make the course of development quite clear, we will end this chapter with a list of these twenty-four symphonies placed as far as possible in chronological order. The numbers on the right are those of the Peters duet edition.

1772	Symphony in F sharp minor (Farewell)	22
1773	,, in C major (for the visit of the Empress)	17
1774	,, in E flat major	21
1781	,, in D major (the Hunt)	20
1784–6	Paris symphony, No. 1 in C	24
	,, ,, No. 2 in G minor	23
	,, ,, No. 4 in B flat	15
	,, ,, No. 5 in D	10
1787	,, ,, No. 7 in G	13
1788	,, ,, No. 9 in C	19
	,, ,, No. 10 in G (the Oxford)	16
	,, ,, No. 11 in E flat	18
1791–2	Salomon symphony, No. 1 in C	7
	,, ,, No. 2 in D	5
	,, ,, No. 3 in G ('Surprise')	6
	,, ,, No. 4 in B flat	8
	,, ,, No. 5 in C minor	9
	,, ,, No. 6 in D	14
1793–5	,, ,, No. 7 in D	2
	,, ,, No. 8 in E flat (Drum Roll)	1
	,, ,, No. 9 in B flat	12
	,, ,, No. 10 in E flat	3
	,, ,, No. 11 in D (the Clock)	4
	,, ,, No. 12 in G (Military)	11

[The order of the Salomon symphonies here given is that of the Philharmonic catalogue, and is not strictly in order of com-

position. For example, No. 10 was composed in Vienna between Haydn's two visits to England, and was probably the earliest of the last set of six.]

ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER V

1. Play Example 13, also portions of C. P. E. Bach's symphonies (arrangements for piano duet, edited by Reger, Peters edition, 3227, 3*s.* 3*d.*, and symphony in D, edited by Horn, Peters edition, 1056, 1*s.* 8*d.*).

2. Play the minuet from Mozart's quartet in G (duet arrangement, Peters edition, 997, 2*s.* 2*d.*; Payne's miniature score, No. 1, 9*d.*).

3. Compare with the above the minuet from Haydn's quartet, Op. 33, No. 5 (Payne's miniature scores, 153, 6*d.*).

4. Analyse at the piano the finale of Mozart's quartet in G (see above), and the first movement of his string quintet in G minor (duet arrangement, Peters edition, 998, 2*s.* 2*d.*; Payne's miniature score, No. 13, 9*d.*).

5. Play movements or parts of movements from the symphonies of Mozart discussed (duet arrangements, Peters edition, 187 *a* and *b*, 2 vols., each 2*s.* 9*d.*).

[In the duet edition the three great symphonies come first, Nos. 1 to 3, the Prague symphony is No. 4, the Haffner No. 5, the Haffner serenade No. 8, the Paris No. 9, and the little one in B flat is No. 11.]

6. Make a special study from the score of a few salient passages of orchestration in the three great symphonies, particularly the beginning of the allegro in E flat (score of three symphonies, C, G minor, E flat, Peters edition, 1039, 4*s.*).

[The value of this will necessarily depend largely upon the opportunities for hearing the symphonies played by the orchestra, and it will be best to use this illustration just before a performance.]

7. Play Haydn's Emperor's Hymn (Payne's miniature score, No. 3, 6*d.*).

[The later quartets of Haydn, and indeed those of Mozart, find places in most of the regular series of chamber concerts given in London. The most efficient way of helping students to enjoy them is for the teacher to analyse and play fragments from a work before it is to be heard. All Haydn's quartets are published in Payne's miniature scores for a few pence each.]

8. Play movements as duets from Haydn's symphonies, particularly those which have been discussed in detail (duet arrangements, Peters edition, 186 *a–d*, 4 vols., 2*s.* 9*d.* each).

CHAPTER VI

MUSIC, WORDS, AND DRAMA

If there is one thing more than another which is characteristic of eighteenth-century music, and particularly of that very large part of it which came from or through Vienna, it is the delight in what is beautiful for its own sake. The growth of musical art seems to pass away from its association with other things, the arts of poetry and dancing and even the deeper feelings of mankind expressed in religion, in order to become thoroughly itself, to get all its means of expression under control and to speak with its own voice. The shaping of the orchestra and of the symphony at the same time is the strongest evidence of this, and when we look at music actually associated with words conveying poetic or religious ideas we still often feel that the music asserts its independence, that we enjoy it more for its own sake than because it intensifies those ideas.

Choral Music of Haydn and Mozart

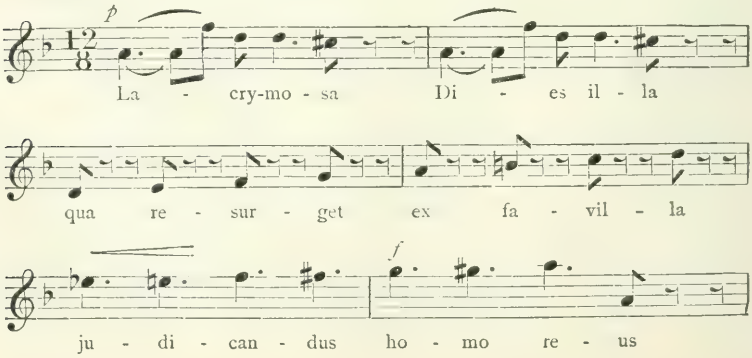
The Masses and other church music of Haydn and Mozart, particularly the former, give innumerable instances of this. Haydn's remark that he did not think God could be angry with him for praising Him with a merry heart means just this, that all beautiful things seemed to him fit for religious service, because his music did not grow out of religious thought but religion was a part of his musical inspiration. His meditations upon 'The Seven Words from the Cross', written for the cathedral at Cadiz (see p. 54), is the work where his music seems to be brought into the closest touch with the thought of the words, but even here the choruses are developed upon symphonic lines and the orchestral writing often maintains interest which is distinct from them.

He felt the composition of his great oratorio *The Creation* to be actuated by religious purpose, but it is the exuberance of the music itself which has made it live. It makes very little appeal

to the religious sense ; the words contribute material for Haydn to treat with a wealth of simple, perhaps naïve, musical description. All the different parts of nature coming into existence, the light, the elements of land and water, plants, fishes, animals, and mankind, each in turn gives character to the outer features of his music, but in each case we admire his power of indulging his fancy in these ways without interfering with the clear beauty of his own melody, which rises above the suggestions of the words. The big choruses which close each part, 'The heavens are telling,' 'Achieved is the glorious work,' and 'Sing the Lord, ye voices all,' show the genuineness of Haydn's religious feeling, but flow too easily to make us feel that they really sum up the oratorio as a thing of deep religious significance.

Mozart's choral church music goes further than Haydn's, because, as we have seen, his intellectual grasp was firmer, but, since most of it was composed as a part of his humiliating service to the Archbishop of Salzburg, there were other reasons besides his preoccupation with purely musical questions to keep him from striving consistently after the expression of religious feeling in his art. The one work where such feeling is conspicuously, indeed overpoweringly, strong is the Requiem Mass, which he was actually composing on his death-bed. The last phrase he wrote (the first bars of the 'Lacrymosa') is as completely the outcome of the sense of the words as anything in J. S. Bach's Passion music or cantatas.

Ex. 18.



The cry of the rising minor sixth ('That day of tears') and the breathless detached notes gathering confidence and rising chromatically to a terrible climax ('When shall rise from ashes man arraigned for judgment') are the things which stamp the music; one is impressed not so much with its beauty as with its truthfulness of expression. It is a reversal of the more ordinary position of these two aspects of art, beauty and truth, as found in the eighteenth century, and the fact that it is constantly so in Mozart's Requiem is the most important sign that the whole work is the product of a time of stress, when life was closing in upon him, and he summoned all his powers to battle with the illness which eventually prevented his finishing it. The Requiem as it exists in modern editions is practically Mozart's work down to the end of the 'Hostias'. The 'Requiem eternam' and 'Kyrie' were fully scored by him; the other numbers up to this point were all at least sketched out so far as their ideas were concerned. His friend and pupil Süssmayer finished them and added the remaining numbers, 'Sanctus,' 'Benedictus,' and 'Agnus Dei,' probably working upon some ideas communicated to him by Mozart.

All the circumstances, then, of the composition of the Requiem were exceptional. It is separated by a large space of time from the body of Mozart's church choral music composed at Salzburg; unlike the earlier music, it was the result of strong personal feeling working under extreme difficulty. That earlier music can be for the most part divided into two classes, that which, like Haydn's, delights in the process of making music for its own sake, and is therefore essentially secular in feeling, and certain essays in contrapuntal style to be found among his motets, which seem to recall some of his experiences in Rome and his studies under Martini (see p. 45).

This general attitude towards music, though caught, fixed, and carried on to bigger ends by the Viennese composers, was really the product of Italy. It overran church music and the opera alike, and the difference between Mozart and Haydn and their Italian contemporaries was that these two great men carried the impulse to its logical conclusion, found the forms in which

it could be appropriately expressed without incongruity or conflict of ideas—that is to say, pure instrumental music.

We are not going to make any survey of the Italian music of the time nor mention names of men and works which have no practical meaning for music-lovers of the present day. We may find one example, however, in the works of Pergolese (1710–36), a short-lived composer born in the neighbourhood of Ancona, two small specimens of whose music are occasionally to be heard nowadays and had considerable importance in the history of the art. One is his setting of the hymn *Stabat Mater* for women's voices and stringed orchestra; the other is a comic opera in one act called *La Serva Padrona* (The Servant a Mistress), in which are two singing characters, a young maid-servant and her master, whom she bullies unmercifully, and a silent man-servant, of whom the girl makes a confederate. In point of subject we could not find two musical works further separated from one another than these, the former treating one of the most solemn themes of the Christian religion, the other devoted to an entirely trivial but laughable comedy. The two should have nothing in common, yet we find the style of the opera bursting in among numbers of great beauty and dignity in the *Stabat Mater*, and the intrusion necessarily offends when the mind is concentrated upon the meaning of the sacred hymn.

To hear these works of Pergolese is to get some notion of the directions in which Italian music was tending before the time of Haydn and Mozart. It has an exuberance of vocal melody quite distinct from the subject to which it is applied. At its worst it would become wholly irrelevant to the subject, at its best it preserved its connexion with some difficulty according to the demands made by the subject. In the *Stabat Mater* these demands are of the highest; in *La Serva Padrona* they are as slight as possible, and so Pergolese could meet them in the opera with much greater consistency than in the sacred work, and the spirit of light-hearted fun and good humour in the little drama agrees easily with the happy flow of his melody.

Some Principles of Opera

We shall allude to *La Serva Padrona* again later, but before we begin to trace some of the special movements which marked the history of opera during the eighteenth century it will be helpful if we turn aside to try to discover a little more accurately what is the object of opera.

It is clear from what has been said that opera is an even more complicated art than choral or other sung music. The latter sets certain limits and responsibilities upon the musician, for if he joins his music with words at all he must bring it into sympathy with the words and control his music so that it expresses the same feeling and respects the form of the sentence, and in the case of poetry that of the verse as well. But the operatic composer has a third quantity to consider, over and above the feeling of words and music. There are all those different elements which are known as the 'action' of the play; the characters of people represented, the events which take place, everything which the audience sees while listening to words and music, from the scene in which the play is acted to the attitudes and gestures of the players, all of which in good drama well acted mean something. As sung music deals with two of these things (words and music), so a spoken play deals with two others (words and action), and the ballet completes the circle by taking as its material the only remaining pair, action and music.

But the opera uses all three together, and the difficulty lies in making all three really do their part in presenting ideas to the audience. We do not want a lot of useless sights and sounds which cumber the senses without helping us to understand better and feel more deeply the ideas underlying the drama. It is quite open to a lover of the theatre to say, 'When I go to the theatre I want to follow every word and see what happens, and not have the people on the stage singing when in real life they would be speaking, and not have the whole play kept waiting while a lot of orchestral music is dinned into my ears.' And it is equally open to people who care for music to say

'When I listen I want to be able to sit still and shut my eyes and let my ears do all the work. I want not to be bothered by having to look at tableaux represented on the stage or by having to follow a story which is nothing to me in comparison with the power of music.'

We can admit at once that drama and music alike have a power when they are free from each other which is lost when they are brought together and have to conform to one another. There must be a certain amount of compromise between them, and the question is whether the compromise is made worth while by giving us something which we do not get in pure drama or pure music. The fact that ever since the time of Monteverde, three hundred years ago, and indeed earlier, musicians and poets have kept on persistently trying to express themselves in opera, in spite of every difficulty and in spite of constant misdirection of their efforts, is strong evidence that there is something to be done with it which cannot be done by any simpler means. They are always beginning again upon opera, readjusting the balance between the parts (music, words, and action), discarding what has become meaningless in the older work, reforming the compromise upon a fresh footing, and so striving to get nearer to the heart of what they want to say.

The justification is that music is an expression of human feeling which cannot be translated into words. When we describe music, as we have often tried to do in this book for example, our words do not really tell the effect the music produces upon us, they only give a rough suggestion by analogy of that effect. That is why it has been so constantly necessary to urge you to go to the music itself and hear it if you really want to understand what it says.

So a musician constantly feels that the addition of his art to the drama can open up a fresh range of ideas which words and action could never convey, and he is right so long as he realizes that no one of these three means of expression must absorb the whole attention or go on as though it were alone. That is very important. In order to make them combine, each one must be different in character from what it would be if it were

left to stand by itself; it must be incomplete without the other two.

Take a very simple illustration. Suppose you are walking with a friend in the street and you see an aeroplane in the sky. You exclaim 'Look there!' and you point while you gaze at it. With two words and a simple action you have explained all about it and your friend has seen it too. But if you are alone in your room and see the aeroplane from the window and want your friend who lives a few doors away to see it, you ring him up on the telephone and say, 'Look out in a north-westerly direction and you will see an aeroplane.' You required a dozen words to convey the idea which you could have got more precisely in two words with action to help you.

It is the same to a greater degree in opera, where there are three means of expression at hand to help; they economize one another. We saw an instance of how action economizes words and music in opera (Part I, p. 54) when we compared Mendelssohn's scene of Elijah being taken by a whirlwind into Heaven with Wagner's scene of Brünnhilde riding into the flames near the end of *Götterdämmerung*. We might take the same passage in the opera to show how music in turn economizes words, for in those few bars Wagner brings to our minds the chief features of his heroine's life, how she had ridden as the messenger of Wotan, and afterwards, when she had displeased him, been placed upon the rock encircled with fire. A mere phrase played by the orchestra recalls these things though it would take many words to picture them.

But perhaps it will be suggested that it is rash to cite Wagner as a composer who used words, music, and action to economize one another, for in order to hear an opera by Wagner we frequently have to set out to the opera house after an early tea and remain there until far into the night. It is true that the economy we speak of has not generally resulted in making opera a shorter form of art than an ordinary play or a piece of concert music. The reverse is the case, and a number of reasons outside the artistic principle in question are sufficient to account for it. It is not a question of the time a work takes to perform

but of the strength of the impression which can be produced at any one moment. A composer of almost unlimited resource like Wagner may choose to go on piling one impression upon another trusting to the variety of his means to keep the interest alive, or he may, and Wagner sometimes does, fall into the mistake of redundancy, repeating in words what the music could sufficiently suggest more rapidly, or elaborating the music beyond the point necessary to convey the spirit of the drama.

We will not digress into a study of Wagner's special treatment of the problems of opera; that must come in its own place in a later volume. We merely use him here as the most salient illustration of the fact that opera, with its peculiar combination of means, can bring to our minds certain types of thought and feeling more directly than can be done by any less complicated form of art.

What are those types? Clearly those which have least to do with matters of fact and most to do with the inward emotions; what Wagner himself called 'states of the soul' of individual human beings. Since the genuinely musical expression is something outside the ordinary expression of every-day conversation, it becomes most eloquent just at the moment where words and actions fail. In Gluck's *Orfeo*, for example, when Orpheus has braved the terrors of Hades to recover his lost wife, has brought her back to life, and just at the moment of his triumph has lost her again by yielding to her entreaty to look at her, his grief finds expression in the wonderful aria 'Chè faro senza Euridice' (How shall I live without Eurydice?). The words in themselves are impotent; the music is all-illuminating. It is the highest point of feeling in the whole opera. Or again, to take a very different case, the aria 'Porgi amor' in Mozart's *Figaro*, in which the neglected wife of the worthless count pours out the fears which beset her, carries us beyond the heartless gaiety of the comedy straight into the region of human sympathy. Again, the music puts us immediately into touch with Hans Sachs musing in his chair when the curtain rises upon him in the third act of *Die Meistersinger*, much as Mozart's aria puts us into touch with the countess, save that here it is

done without any words at all. And just to name one instance in a quite modern opera where the music surpasses the capacity of words, there is the extraordinarily intense moment in Richard Strauss's *Elektra* where the heroine of the drama recognizes her brother, Orestes, on whom all her hopes had been fixed and whom she had thought to be dead.

These are a few of the conspicuous scenes by which the operatic drama justifies itself, and apart from them and similar ones there are many places where the music fitly takes a secondary place, accentuating the meaning of the words and action and commenting upon it. But below this again in every drama there are necessarily prosaic moments, details of conversation between the characters, mere explanations of events, where the music must retire further into the background to avoid absurdity.

Should it stop altogether, leaving the actor to speak what must be spoken and so not risk its dignity by being linked with ideas to which it cannot contribute? That is a question which has caused a great deal of discussion. Beethoven in the only opera he wrote, *Fidelio*, adopted the plan of mixed speech and song; it is reported of Brahms when he contemplated an opera, which however he never carried out, that he was determined to have spoken dialogue between the musical numbers. This was the plan generally adopted in German and French comic operas, and we English people know it well in the delightful comic operas of Gilbert and Sullivan. In such things as these last, which are all fun and frolic, the change of voice is no drawback and indeed often adds a touch of piquancy, but where there is any serious matter on hand it is apt to sound so incongruous that all the greatest operatic composers have decided against it.

Recitative

The Italian invention of *recitativo secco* ('dry recitative', see Part I, p. 25), in which the words were sung on notes which passed as rapidly as speech, accompanied only by detached notes on the harpsichord, had the merit of keeping the musical thread intact and avoiding a wrench between the dialogue and those

parts where the music became of more material importance. It opened the door of course to a great deal of slipshod work; whenever a composer had nothing to say he could run on in pages of 'dry recitative' until he thought it was time to vary the process with an aria, but when it was well used, as Mozart often used it in *Figaro* for example, it could be an admirable means for carrying on the dialogue vivaciously. You may get a notion of the general effect of this sort of recitative by hearing Rossini's *Il Barbiere*, which at the present day is constantly performed at Covent Garden theatre with the recitative accompanied on a piano.

The French adapted the principle to suit their own language and their own ideas of art. With them recitative remained more declamatory than with the Italians, and from the time of Lully onward a less strict line was drawn between those parts of the French opera where the music was merely an accessory and those where it was a vital interest. That no doubt was due to the long-standing tradition of the 'chanson', which regarded music as a means of expressing poetry rather than as an end in itself.

When the Germans came to make a serious opera of their own they had to face the problem and to find a way of dealing with it suitable to their own language and the things they had to say, but that was at a later date and we need not at the moment take it into consideration. Even at the end of the eighteenth century German opera was still in its infancy, and its only important productions were light comedies called by the name of 'Singspiele' (Song-plays) with spoken dialogue. Dittersdorf wrote a great number of these; his *Doktor und Apotheker* ('Doctor and Apothecary') was the most famous, and in Vienna it was so successful as to eclipse for a time Mozart's Italian opera *Figaro*. Mozart himself contributed several works to the German 'Singspiel', of which *Bastien und Bastienne*, written when he was quite a boy and performed at a private theatre in Vienna, was the first, and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* ('The Escape from the Harem'), produced by the Emperor's command at the 'National-Singspiel' founded in 1778, the most

brilliant. This work shows that Mozart understood the *recitativo secco* to be the special property of the Italian language and one which could not be transferred to the German language. But he made no attempt either here or elsewhere to find a way of setting German words in continuous opera. His last and biggest German opera, *Die Zauberflöte*, retained a large quantity of spoken dialogue.

Italian and French Opera

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, therefore, we have only two styles of complete opera to take into serious account, the Italian and the French, and of these the former was the one generally recognized by the whole of Europe as representing an authoritative standard. Operas and opera singers were poured out from Italy into every other important centre from Vienna to London, and only a small group of people in Paris maintained that any other kind of opera than that which Italy provided was possible. They, however, maintained it so doggedly that, as we saw in the first chapter of this volume, Paris became a hotbed of controversy from which came results only second in importance to the growth of instrumental music in and around Vienna.

The music which came from the South at its best fostered the love of musical beauty for its own sake. There may have been hundreds of Italian operas which added nothing to the stock of beautiful things, but the justification for the form was that the musical beauty should be concentrated upon the succession of arias strung together upon a thread of 'dry recitative'. But as we have seen this cannot be the only aim of opera, which is essentially a many-sided art; and the French opera kept the path open for the fuller realization of the dramatic expression necessary to complete the scheme, until one man who had been trained in the Italian school was strong enough to follow up that path. That was Christoph Gluck.

CHAPTER VII

OPERA IN PARIS AND VIENNA

THE man who did most to keep the French standard of opera alive was JEAN PHILIPPE RAMEAU who, unlike its founder, Lully, was actually a Frenchman. He was born at Dijon in 1683, so that he was only a child when Lully died (see Part I, p. 74), and his father was organist of the cathedral in that town. The early part of his life did not bring him into contact with the stage at all, except that when he was about seventeen years of age he travelled a little and visited Milan, where he must have become acquainted with Italian opera, and afterwards played the violin in a theatre orchestra. But the harpsichord and the organ were his instruments, and for some time it seemed that he might settle down to the career of a cathedral organist as his father had before him.

He held various church appointments and succeeded his brother as organist of the cathedral at Clermont in Auvergne, and while he was there he occupied himself in the study of the theory of harmony. This aspect of music became for a time so engrossing that when he had completed his *Traité de l'harmonie* (Treatise on Harmony) he threw up his organistship in order to go to Paris and superintend its publication. He was already close on forty years of age, and for the next ten years he went on writing voluminously on musical theory, supporting himself by playing and teaching and composing pieces for the harpsichord, and it was not until 1733 that his first grand opera, *Hippolyte et Aricie*, was produced. He was then fifty years old, so that he presents what is probably an unique instance of a man able to begin an operatic career when he had passed middle age and continue it with honour for nearly thirty years. He died at the age of eighty-one (1764), and his last opera, *Les Paladins*, was produced in 1760.

Rameau's *Castor et Pollux*

But his most famous work was *Castor et Pollux*, written fairly early in his operatic career, some of the ballet tunes from which are still to be heard at orchestral concerts. We may get some practical notion of his aim by making a short study of this score. The general scheme of the drama reminds us very strongly of the plan of Lully and Quinault (see Part I, p. 66 et seq.). The classical story of the brothers Castor and Pollux is developed in five acts preceded by an overture and a dramatic prologue. The orchestral overture is in the ordinary form of a slow movement followed by a quick fugal one, and has no special connexion with the story which follows. It represents a convention which Rameau apparently inherited unthinkingly, but from which he departed in some of his later works.

The prologue is a prayer to Venus to bring peace and happiness upon the world. Minerva calls upon Cupid to invoke the aid of his mother, and Venus and Mars descend to earth. The remarkable thing here and in the opera itself is the masterly use made of the chorus and the ingenious way in which the characters are woven into an *ensemble*. It marks one of the chief points of contrast with the prevalent Italian style, for whereas the effect of the Italian aria was to concentrate attention solely upon one individual at a time, Rameau's opera merges the individuals in a common interest. An admirable case in point occurs where Cupid pleads 'Plaisir ramenez-nous, Vénus, descends des cieux' ('Pray return, Venus, descend from heaven'), the musical phrase of which is immediately taken up by each voice of the chorus in turn.

The orchestral music accompanying the descent of Venus and Mars is an interesting attempt to describe musically what is seen upon the stage. The violins have wreathed passages in descending triplet quavers. The happiness which the gods bring is of course displayed in a series of dances, gavottes, minuets, and a 'tambourin'; the last delicately scored for 'little flutes', violins, bassoons, and bass strings. It is worth notice that the bassoon part here is independent of the stringed basses.

The drama itself opens in the funeral place of the kings of Sparta, where a pyre is prepared and the people, again in striking choruses, mourn the death of Castor. Moreover, the music actually suggests the different groups of people who take part in the scene. That of the athletes is quite different in style from the first chorus of mourners; it is broader, one might almost say more muscular. Amongst these groups the principal characters take a comparatively insignificant part. Their airs are all very short, breaking off into declamatory passages. Talaire, the lover of Pollux, urges him to seek the help of the gods to restore his brother Castor to life, which is accomplished in the second act in the temple of Jupiter. It is decreed, according to the legend, that Castor may share the immortality possessed by Pollux; that is to say, that he can only return to life while Pollux takes his place among the dead. There is a scene of genuinely fine emotion here, in which Pollux is torn between the claims of duty to his brother and his love for Talaire. His air, 'Nature, amour, qui partagez mon cœur, qui de vous sera le vainqueur?' ('Nature, love, who divide my heart, which of you will be the victor?'), is particularly interesting, because it is one of the rare cases where Rameau adopted the ternary form so persistently used by the Italians. He evidently did it for a definite dramatic purpose. Pollux is in a state of indecision, and hence it is natural that he should come back to the question from which he started.

The subject of the next two acts is very similar to that of the story of Orpheus and Eurydice. Pollux descends to the infernal regions in order that his brother may be liberated. One cannot escape the feeling that Rameau's treatment of the idea offered some suggestions to Gluck when later he wrote his famous *Orfeo*. It was natural for practical reasons that both composers should divide the episode into two acts; one in which the hero, in this case Pollux, encounters the infernal spirits, the other in which having passed through their region he arrives at the home of happy spirits. The contrast gave excellent opportunity to the musician for music of different character. In Rameau's third act the *ensemble* is very elaborate. There is a scene

between Pollux, Talaire, and her sister Phoebe, culminating in a trio for the three voices, upon which follows the chorus of spirits mingling with the three solo voices. In both scenes the ballet is important. Vigorous and uncouth music is supplied for the dances of the infernal spirits, smoother and more gracious melodies for those of the happy spirits.

Rameau's dramatic scheme is not far behind Gluck's; where the latter goes further is in his power of combining dramatic appropriateness with distinctively musical beauty. In Rameau's fourth act Mercury appears to take the place which Cupid fills in *Orfeo*; that is to say, he brings about the happy ending. The fifth act of *Castor et Pollux* represents the deification of the brothers among the stars, a scene which gave obvious occasion for all the display of pageantry of which the opera was capable. Again the ballet and the chorus are of first importance; both include symbolical figures representing planets and stars joining in song and dance culminating in a 'chaconne' and effective choral *finale*. In the use of the 'chaconne' (or 'passacaglia') as the most elaborate dance Rameau is following the example of Lully (see Part I, p. 73).

One feels that the whole opera is planned to deal ably with certain kinds of stage effect rather than to reveal the feelings of the principal characters, though, as we saw in the song of Act II, Rameau could respond to a call for definite feeling when it came. His response, however, is momentary, and might easily pass unnoticed among the more prominent attractions of the scenes and actions of the stage figures. We know in fact from his own statement that he personally did not attach the highest importance to the character of the words which he set. It is told of him that he said that a musician should be able to set anything to music, and many of the plots of his operas suggest that he was ready to act upon the principle. His characters remain remote, classical figures, not, like Gluck's, living human beings. But against this fault of neglecting the individual must be set the virtue of picturing masses of people in his vivid writing for the chorus. The Italians neglected this almost entirely. Lully's chorus was comparatively formal, so that one

might often transpose a choral number from one situation to another without producing any incongruous result. One could not do this with a single chorus in *Castor et Pollux*.

We must leave the Parisian opera for the moment and return to Vienna to trace some of the influences which led to Gluck's contribution to these questions.

Gluck's Reform of Opera

Christoph Willibald Gluck was born in 1714, the same year in which C. P. E. Bach was born, and after some preliminary musical education at Prague he visited Vienna, where he found a patron who took him to Milan to study under a famous Italian composer of opera, Sammartini by name. Gluck began to compose strictly on the lines of Sammartini's instruction. He brought out one opera after another, but gave no particular evidence that he was likely to make any stronger mark than the other men of his day whose operas were performed, applauded, or condemned according to circumstance and then cast on one side.

His hasty visit to England in 1745 has already been mentioned; it was then that he met Handel who, when his operas failed to please the public, told him that he had taken too much trouble, though at the same time Handel complained of Gluck's lack of counterpoint (see Part I, p. 26).

On the same journey Gluck stayed in Paris, an event of more importance to his career than his visit to London, for in Paris he heard some of the operas of Rameau and was struck by Rameau's use of recitative and of the chorus. Hearing opera of such different design from that of his Italian masters must have set Gluck thinking, but he was slow to move; he went back to Vienna and produced quantities more of the work which he understood from experience. His operas were accepted not only in Vienna but in the cities of Italy, Rome, and Naples. He was guided as to the design of these works by Metastasio (see p. 38), who wrote the words, and whose fame as a dramatic poet was great enough to bring popular success to any work in

which he had a share. Gluck might well hesitate before parting with so powerful an ally, the more so since he was anything but indifferent to public applause.

It was not until the year 1762, when he was forty-eight years of age, that he produced in Vienna the opera *Orfeo*, which was the great turning-point of his career. Though he was then very nearly of the same age as Rameau when he brought out his first opera, and *Orfeo* is the first of Gluck's operas to be important to the world at large, the circumstances of the two were very different. Gluck had not only a long stage experience behind him, but he had all the experience of men and life gained from his travel in several countries. Above all, he knew what are the things that appeal straight to the hearts of an audience, and so no matter what theories he might form and follow in the construction of his operas he was in no danger of losing sight of the human appeal.

Gluck was convinced that the Italian opera needed thorough reformation, and he determined to put his convictions into practice by setting the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, which had been set and reset in a conventional way by many hands, and treating it according to its own requirements. The story he determined should not be forgotten while a singer took the middle of the stage and showed off the agility of his vocal technique. He rebelled especially against the crude alternation of arias with recitatives. One number in whatever form must lead logically to the next. As a starting-point he needed a new librettist, and he found one sympathetic to his ideals in Kalzabigi who wrote the words of *Orfeo*.

It is hardly necessary to say that he had all sorts of difficulties in the practical preparation of his opera for performance. To the singers and players in the Viennese opera it seemed like a wilful reversal of every tradition to which they were accustomed. But Gluck met all objections stubbornly and insisted upon his ideas being carried out most strictly. He was fortunate in securing a man for the principal part of Orpheus who thought more of his art than of himself, a quality which was rare among opera singers of that day. But with the rest

of the company his work was not so smooth. Some remonstrated and threatened to rebel, and at one time the Emperor had to interfere in order to secure the rehearsal and production of the opera. When it actually was seen the public was frankly puzzled, the more so since opera-goers then were not used to being puzzled. Nowadays a composer of opera who does not startle our sensibilities in one way or another is likely to be voted tame, but the Viennese public expected a certain code of procedure in every opera whether the music was new or old. The idea that the whole form should be remodelled according to the conditions of the story which the opera tells was incomprehensible at first.

Even Gluck himself seems to have had some doubts, at any rate that is the most favourable explanation of the fact that after *Orfeo* he returned to the librettos of Metastasio and for the next five years brought out nothing original. While he matured his plans he was content to give the public what it wanted, but in 1767 came *Alceste*, an opera in which his principles appear as strongly as in *Orfeo*, and are more mature in their application to a great tragedy. Not only did he reassert them practically, but he wrote a preface to the score which was a bold declaration of his faith and condemnation of the conventionalized opera in which up till then he had been content to trade.

The preface[1] condemned all musical elaboration made for the satisfaction of the singers or the composer; that is to say, the *coloratura* passages inserted to show the singer's voice, and orchestral passages put there to complete the numbers apart from the dramatic needs of the opera. The overture, Gluck said, should prepare the listeners for the action, and consequently should not conform to one type as both the French and Italian overtures had usually done. The instrumental accompaniments should employ instruments according as they could contribute to the feeling of the moment, and above all simplicity, he declared, should be the composer's aim in all parts of his work.

[1] For the text of the preface as well as for a complete critical study of the whole question of Gluck's attitude see Mr. Ernest Newman's *Gluck and the Reform of the Opera.*

Both *Orfeo* and *Alceste* as well as the later works of Gluck were true to these principles, but there is one passage in this preface in which Gluck asserts a theory which he certainly never carried into practice; that is the passage in which he declares that the proper function of music is to support the poetry and strengthen its expression, in fact that the music is of secondary importance. He was led to this statement and to others like it, such as the remark attributed to him that when he began to compose an opera he tried to forget that he was a musician, simply by the natural tendency of a man who is attacking an evil to be carried over to the extreme of defending an opposite evil.

We saw in the last chapter that the one rational defence of opera at all is the fact that the music has something of its own to say which cannot be said by the words. An opera in which the music was really only a tributary to the words would indeed be a futile expenditure of effort. If Gluck forgot that he was a musician that did not make him less of one, and no one who hears his operas forgets it. They live by their musical beauty, but the music framed on the principles which he worked out in the preface to *Alceste* allows the interests of the drama, words and action, to have free play.

Alceste had a more immediate success than *Orfeo*, but Gluck, with his eye always on the practical issue as well as on the artistic, wished for a clearer field of action than Vienna could be, overrun as it was by Italian music and musicians. He began to think of Paris as a possible centre from which to issue his operatic reforms. Various circumstances had kept hot the Parisians' interest in opera since the time of Rameau's chief productions. Some years before (1752) an Italian company visiting Paris had given light opera there, and in their repertory was Pergolese's *La Serva Padrona*. Its brilliant humour, sparkling melody, and the ease with which the dialogue flowed in recitative had caught the Parisian imagination, and it had been accepted by a public not very well informed as typical of Italian opera much in the same way as the English public only a few years ago accepted Tchaikovsky's symphonies as typical of Russian music. Critics

declared that Italian was the language of music because it was evident that the Italians had found out how to treat their language in music. Their own nation, they said, had not done this, and therefore the French language was incapable of musical treatment. Rousseau went so far as to declare that the French had no music of their own, and that if they ever had it would be so much the worse for them.

The arguments produced against French opera were all those which are produced against English opera nowadays when that subject periodically comes up for discussion. The anti-French party disposed of their composers, their singers, and their language in one sweeping condemnation. But the difference between the 'Guerre des Bouffons' (War of Comedians), as it was called, and the modern English controversy was that while the latter is merely the subject of desultory discussion, which up to the present has always left matters just where they were before, the former was carried on with the greatest heat and determination to gain proof on both sides. The Parisian opera-goers, whether for or against their own music, at least showed that a purely artistic question was to them a vital one. The French people have never trifled with art; to them it has always been a subject worthy of the intense seriousness which in this country is too often reserved only for parliamentary elections.

The national party did not mind securing a foreign ally. Their main point was not so much to prove the worth of their own composers as to prove the capacity of their own language and their own style of treating it in the opera. Lully was an Italian, but he had made French music; Gluck was an Austrian, but he might uphold it. So after his variable fortune with *Orfeo* and *Alceste* in Vienna Gluck was ready to take up the cause of the party which opposed itself to conventional Italian opera, and that party was ready to accept him as their champion. With this in view, before he left Vienna he had composed a tragedy, *Iphigénie en Aulide*, to a French libretto adapted from Racine's drama, and thus armed he at length accepted an invitation to come to Paris in 1774 and produce it at the Opera

House. In this venture he was able to gain the support of the queen, Marie Antoinette, whom he had known years ago when she was an Austrian princess, and so he was sure of securing all the interest which friends and opponents could arouse, and of escaping the artist's one serious enemy, which is apathy. His work flourished in Paris; the new opera was followed by adaptations of *Orfeo* and *Alceste*, the texts being translated and the music considerably modified, and the nationalists began to feel that their language at any rate was vindicated.

The opposite party, however, was not routed. The advocates of Italian opera could play the same game with better logic and, they hoped, with equal success. They could reasonably find out the strongest Italian composer and bring him to Paris to assert his superiority over the Austrian Gluck, who was thus championing the French language and style. But whom could they get? Had the crisis occurred only a few years later they might have found out the young Mozart who, although another Austrian, was steeped in the traditions of Italy, and who would have shown them the best that those traditions could produce. We have seen (p. 47) that so nearly did the dates fit that while the controversy was still in progress in 1778 Mozart was actually in Paris and eating his heart out for a chance of proving his powers as a composer of opera. He, however, was there too late, and even had the Italian supporters not already found their man they could scarcely have been expected to choose a young fellow just turned twenty-two, whose one grand opera (*Mitridate*), written for Milan when he was fourteen, had been only considered successful because it was the work of a mere child.

The Italian party wanted a real master to set against the towering strength of Gluck. They naturally turned to the man who had made the whole of Europe applaud his one brilliantly successful opera some years previously, and so seemed to them to be the very embodiment of the cause they wanted to advance. Just as to-day an advocate for contemporary Italian opera would point first to Puccini, the composer of *La Bohême* and *Madama Butterfly*, so they naturally thought of a man (whose name, by the way, is rather similar) who had made a great hit with one

opera, *La Cecchina*, some years before, and who had poured out innumerable others since. His name was Niccola Piccinni.

It is a curious reflection upon the different standards which time brings that it would not have been necessary for us to mention his name here at all on account of *La Cecchina*, though in its day it was performed in every opera-house in Europe. Its popularity was merely the fashion of the moment, and neither it nor any work of Piccinni made any permanent mark upon the history of the art, or left us anything which we value for its own sake now. It is just as well to remember this, since we are so constantly reminded of the great works which were scorned and derided when they first appeared. In our desire to avoid that error at the present day we are liable to fall into the opposite one of fervently embracing what is wholly a passing fashion.

Piccinni, then, only claims to be remembered because he was brought to Paris to oppose Gluck in 1776. He was the younger of the two, but he seems to have known that his transitory success was over, and to have had no personal desire to set himself up as a prophet. He came, however, tempted by the lucrative offer. The two composers were to be set to work to compose on one theme ; Gluck had already been given versions of two romances by Quinault (see Part I, p. 67) previously set by Lully, *Armide* and *Roland*, and it was proposed that Piccinni should also set *Roland*. This direct competition Gluck very rightly refused as unworthy of both of them. His *Armide* was written and might be produced under proper conditions, but he destroyed what was written of *Roland* and left that field open to his opponent. The two subjects, however, were sufficiently comparable to make good grounds of discussion for the partisans.

Gluck's *Armide* came out first in September, 1777, and was established as a masterpiece before Piccinni's *Roland* was ready. He was destined to write one more great work for the Parisian stage, with which he secured his final triumph six months later, *Iphigénie en Tauride*, a companion to his earlier *Iphigénie en Aulide*.

Again Piccinni was brought forward and given a libretto on the same subject. If he knew how Gluck had behaved in the

matter of *Roland* it was scarcely to his credit that he accepted the commission. But his acceptance made no difference to the event. Gluck's position was unassailable, especially since his work came out first and was acknowledged at something like its true worth before Piccinni got a hearing. Gluck's was a serious musical treatment of the classical drama ; Piccinni's was merely an opera on a poor libretto, having the same story as its basis.

The production of Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* took place on May 18, 1778, and not only is the date memorable because it gave to the world the last of Gluck's great operas, but because at this time Mozart was in Paris, and when the whole town was ringing with his achievement Mozart could not fail to hear and admire the work too.

Thus the end of Gluck's career was the beginning of Mozart's as one of the operatic composers who really count. The next time that Mozart had an opportunity of producing an opera at the carnival season in Munich, in 1781 (see p. 48), he chose in *Idomeneo* a classical theme which gave scope for some of that kind of treatment which Gluck had followed in *Iphigénie.*

In this work the style of Gluck and, indirectly, that of Rameau in the use of the chorus are found contending with what is specially characteristic of Mozart. But Mozart was to leave his mark more distinctly upon quite another type of opera, and the things by which he lives are the later comedies, especially the two great Italian ones *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni.*

It is difficult to give any definite impression of Gluck's operas to those who cannot get opportunities of witnessing complete performances. *Orfeo* is sometimes brought forward by private enterprise in London [1]; *Armide* was given in German at Covent Garden a few years ago, but for the rest we have generally to rely on the rare chance of a performance by the students of one

[1] The performances of *Orfeo* which Miss Marie Brema gave at the Savoy Theatre, in 1910, were among the most remarkable of these efforts. The whole opera was beautifully staged according to modern ideas of the treatment of a classical theme. But it must be remembered that in the eighteenth century the whole staging, dresses, scenery, acting, and dancing was conventionalized in accordance with the manners of the time. Court costumes, powder, and red-heeled shoes were as much the rule in *Orfeo* as they would be in a comedy of contemporary life, such as *Figaro.*

of the musical colleges.[1] So we can only give a general recommendation to those who want to understand what Gluck really did to miss no chance of hearing one of his works whenever and wherever it may occur.

The first thing which will probably strike you is that after all that has been said of his reforms and his determination to return to natural and simple expression, the whole thing is still extraordinarily formal. That is partly because we cannot help coming to him with some ready-made notions, chiefly based on Wagner, of what an opera should be like, and partly because, as we have already suggested, Gluck was sometimes better and sometimes worse than his creed. He was better in the fact that when the music took real hold upon him he let it go on and did not curb it to suit the smaller needs of dramatic propriety, and so we get those wonderful lyrical moments of which 'Che farò' is a typical instance. He was worse because one may point to things which are purely a makeweight in the scheme like the bustling overture to *Orfeo*, which seems chiefly written to hide the sound of rustling dresses and preliminary conversation with which every audience at an opera settles into its seats.

But sometimes, too, that simplicity of aim may deceive us, if we are careless listeners, into thinking that he was writing by rule when really he was feeling every note deeply. Take the first chorus of *Orfeo* and when you have played it or sung in it often enough you will not think its stateliness is a mere matter of form, but realize that it is part of its very being. Orpheus and his companions are grieving for the death of Eurydice, but Gluck knows better than to begin by tearing a passion to tatters. In the steady march of the bass there is a throbbing persistence which suggests the sense of an irresistible fate, nor can it be a mere coincidence that the melody bears a clear likeness to that of 'Che farò', the air in which later Orpheus mourns his second loss.

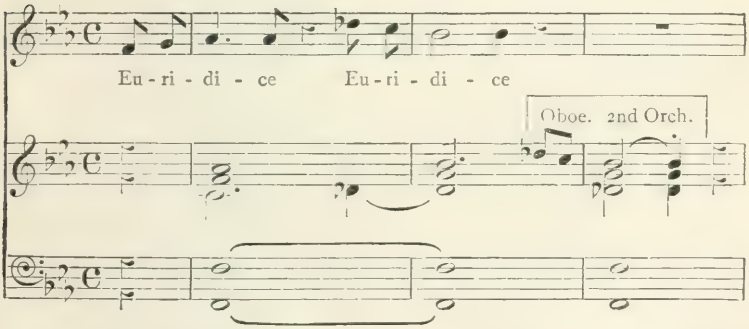
To suggest the same idea by the use of the same phrase of music was quite unusual in the opera of Gluck's day. Audiences were not sufficiently thoughtful to make it worth while for composers

[1] The students of the Guildhall School of Music gave *Iphigénie en Tauride* in 1908, those of the Royal College of Music gave it in 1910.

to think so closely. Gluck himself made no general habit of doing so. We find it in music that was not operatic before his time; in Bach for example. In modern music following Wagner it has become so general as to be a commonplace. In the course of the chorus, and without interrupting it, Orpheus three times sings the name of Eurydice and nothing more, each time dropping to a low note on the last syllable, and the last time beginning upon a higher note than before and so expressing a more intense feeling.

All through *Orfeo* Gluck uses orchestral accompaniment, even in the recitatives, indeed he uses two orchestras, the second echoing the first behind the stage. A wonderful effect is produced by this means in the recitatives and airs of Orpheus's soliloquy, when he has asked his companions to leave him and he stands alone by the tomb.

Ex. 19.



The end of each vocal phrase is repeated by the second orchestra, as though to picture his loneliness; the tones of his own voice are thrown back to him in an echo. One can see the difference between Gluck's deeper feeling in this part, which has to do with a human tragedy, and his more superficial style when the story is carried on by the appearance of Cupid to Orpheus, by comparing Orpheus's songs with that with which Cupid greets him.

In the second act Gluck concentrates more upon the pictorial side of opera, and here one has to remember that its pictures were not the realistic ones to which the modern stage has accustomed us, but rather symbolic. The opening dance of the Furies interrupted by the sounds of Orpheus's lute (the harp of the second orchestra behind the stage) may seem trite by comparison with the effects of a modern orchestra, but Gluck was not aiming at such effects and failing to get them ; he was using the effects which would be appropriate to the scene as it then appeared. The chorus of spirits and the appeal to them in song by Orpheus, an appeal constantly interrupted by their cries of ' Non, non ', is an intensely dramatic scene, all the more so for the fact that the means used are far simpler than those of Rameau, for example, in a similar scene in *Castor et Pollux*.

We need not dwell upon the obvious contrast between this act and the next, in which Orpheus at length meets the spirit of Eurydice in the Elysian fields, but the exquisite tenderness of the ballet music in the latter scene, particularly the slow air in D minor for flute, with the rippling accompaniment in semiquavers below it, ought to be known. Fortunately it is sometimes to be heard in the concert room.

One of the finest instances of Gluck's use of dramatic recitative is the conversation between Orpheus and Eurydice, as he leads her back to the upper world. The condition of her rescue is that he shall not look back at her as she follows him, and she, mistaking his face turned from her for indifference, implores him to turn. But the series of recitatives, arias, and duets in which their feelings are expressed, and the skill with which the numbers are linked together cannot be described here. It becomes perfectly clear and convincing when seen and heard on the stage. One further word about ' Che farò ' may be given to show how the development of this aria grows out of the emotion of the moment. After the middle section, where the music modulates, a return is made to the first theme according to the usual principle of ternary form. But it is not a repetition of the air in a formal way. The upward *arpeggio* figure, which was a prominent feature from the first, is pressed further and

emphasized till a high note never used before is reached, so that the climax of feeling comes at the very end.

The restoration of Eurydice by Cupid's intervention one cannot help feeling to be perfunctory. Gluck must have felt in his heart even if he did not realize with his brain that the happy ending made an anticlimax. At any rate you have only to compare the recitative by which the business is settled with those of Orpheus in the first act, or with the dialogue between Orpheus and Eurydice just preceding to see the difference between commonplace recitative and inspired declamation.

With the limits of our space and the little hope of adequate illustration it would be futile to try to trace Gluck's gradual growth to consistency and sureness of handling through the chain of his big works culminating in *Iphigénie en Tauride.* Any one who has realized the spirit which moved him to the first, *Orfeo,* and who knows the music well enough to be able to distinguish the great moments from those which do not reach so high, has made fairly good preparation for the enjoyment of any of the operas when occasion offers. In the later operas it will be possible to realize how he advances in two ways: (1) in making the overture appropriate to the opera which follows it, and (2) in distinguishing the characters of the people and their different sentiments by the kinds of melody they sing. The overture to *Iphigénie en Tauride* is a triumphant example of the first. It pictures the tempest in which the play opens, and at its height the curtain rises and without any break the voice of Iphigenia is heard above the storm calling upon the gods. It is a parallel opening to that of Wagner's *Die Walküre.* The first scene of *Iphigénie en Aulide* gives at once an instance of the second in the prayer of Agamemnon to Diana and the contrast it makes with the declamation in which he rebels against the idea of sacrificing his daughter.

In only one important instance did Gluck leave classical drama for a romantic subject, and that was in *Armide,* a story which was a time-honoured one for operatic treatment. The general outline of Gluck's *Armide,* since it was based on Quinault's libretto, is so similar to Lully's (see Part I, p. 72) as to need no

further description; it is the richness of his treatment in every detail, the beauty of the airs, the elaborate *ensembles* between principal characters and the chorus, the great variety of the ballet music which make of it a new and far more vivid thing.

Gluck's Successors

Gluck's work was too much the outcome of his own personal conviction and individuality to produce direct successors or found a 'school' of composition. His influence upon others was indirect. Méhul, a young French composer, who heard the first performance of *Iphigénie en Tauride,* was deeply impressed and, to some extent, influenced by him in his later work; Grétry, who was rather older, was more influenced by Italian melody, but turned the current of French opera towards a lighter style than that which was the outcome of Gluck's deep thought and long struggle.

Maria Cherubini, an Italian by birth, who, however, had been trained not so much in the contemporary mannerisms of Italian opera as in the older and finer styles of contrapuntal music, settled in Paris in about 1788 and produced a number of operas, of which *Médée* was the most important. His comic opera *Les Deux Journées* (known in England as 'The Water Carrier') is occasionally revived now.[1] Though Gluck's influence may be found in some of his work it is only one among many. Cherubini was indeed a cosmopolitan musician of wide experience and profound scholarship, who had all the possibilities of technique and style so thoroughly at his disposal that no one personality, not even his own, is very strongly felt in his work. He made for himself a great position, was head of the Paris Conservatoire founded in 1795, and in that capacity he naturally exerted a wide influence upon French music. His operas were performed in Vienna and largely in Germany; his orchestral works became famous in England, and his overtures are sometimes to be heard at concerts at the present day.

[1] *The Water Carrier* has been performed twice in London recently by the students of the Royal College of Music.

Mozart's Operas

Mozart, as we have seen, was considerably affected by Gluck, and this experience stimulated him to search out the essential characteristics in the subjects which he touched. But the cast of his mind was wholly different. Instead of rebelling against the conventions of the kind of opera on which he had been brought up, he set himself to make the best possible thing of it within its limits. In doing so he succeeded in showing that the mould was not worn out and worthless for a man who had the right stuff to pour into it. Both his most famous works, *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, may be considered to be descendants, though very remote ones, of that type of Italian light opera of which we have mentioned *La Serva Padrona* as an example. In them nothing is to be taken too seriously. Plot and counterplot, producing absurdly extravagant situations, calling for quick interplay of character on the dramatic side, balanced by pure beauty and shapeliness on the musical side, were the things with which he dealt to the best advantage. They are, in fact, the same qualities turned to different account which we found in his symphonic works. The operatic tunes are not always so sharply cut or distinct from one another as are those of the symphonies, and that illustrates the principle touched upon in the last chapter, where it was pointed out that opera using several means of expression at once does not require so much for any one of them as the separated arts do.

To see Mozart's symphonic treatment of an operatic situation at its best we may look at the *finale* to the second act of *Figaro*. A great deal has happened in the course of the act. It began with the countess's sorrowful reflections in the aria 'Porgi amor'; then came Susanna her maid and Figaro the count's man, with their plot to pay the count out with a practical joke by dressing up the page, Cherubino, as a girl. While they were preparing him the count, scenting mischief, had appeared on the scene, demanding to be let into the inner room where Cherubino was hidden. That young scapegrace, unknown to the countess, had solved the difficulty by jumping out of the window while

she tried to make up stories to avert the count's anger. At last the count, forcing an entrance, had found no one but Susanna. So both the count and countess had been fooled, the former because he had not got to the bottom of the mystery, the latter because she had given herself away unnecessarily.

From this point the *finale* begins with a duet between the count and countess, followed by a trio, in which Susanna takes part. The object is after the partial disillusionment of the scene before to heighten the interest again by further complications of the plot, and to make at the same time a musical climax. We have the gardener complaining that his flowers have been destroyed by a man jumping out of the window, which naturally gives the count a considerable clue to the mystery, and Figaro declaring himself the culprit, but unable to establish the fact very satisfactorily, and the other minor characters coming in to make the confusion greater. So gradually the plot and, at the same time, the musical score thicken, till at last seven voices join in the climax. It is useless to analyse the detail; one can only appreciate the scene when it is heard and seen on the stage. The one thing to realize is the brilliancy with which the play is carried on while the music develops on its own lines, each character darting in to add fresh point to the whole. One cannot doubt its dramatic propriety once we accept the limitations of the style working up to what actors call an effective 'curtain'.

In his mature works Mozart was just as opposed to giving way to the desire of singers to show off their skill as Gluck had been. His arias are designed to express the feelings uppermost at the moment, from the pathetic charm of 'Porgi amor' and 'Dove sono' to the martial vigour of 'Non più andrai' or the exquisite charm of Cherubino's serenade 'Voi che sapete'. It is true that there is much greater abundance of ornament in the arias of *Don Giovanni*, and there is the famous Queen of Night's song in *Die Zauberflöte* in which *coloratura* is pushed to its furthest limits. But all these things are used to give special character to the music, just as the passages of a violin concerto arising out of the capacities of the instrument give a special type of interest which nothing else could give. Their presence is not

a concession to the demand for display, but the use of technical ability to serve the ends of the artist.

The most marvellous thing about Mozart's operas is the way their music defies analysis in words. Over and over again we may be at a loss to account by the light of reason for the music taking the particular course it does take, and, on the other hand, to name this or that point where one notes some feature of peculiar appropriateness does not really advance the understanding or enjoyment of his work to any great extent. It may even interfere with it by suggesting that Mozart took particular thought to secure such a point, when really he merely passed it in his stride.

When we come to see the operas actually performed, however, and it is a thousand pities that we do not see more of them, the details, accountable and unaccountable alike, fall into place. Mozart seems to be the most unconscious writer who ever lived. It all comes from him apparently without his taking thought as Gluck and Wagner did, yet it is never thoughtless as so much Italian opera written by Italians has been, for, taken as a whole, it justifies itself to artistic perception independently of intellectual reasoning.

To give sketches of the stories of the operas would take a great many more words than the result would be worth, for they are often so involved that a description in words is apt to give the impression of a confused rigmarole. While Gluck's choice of subjects kept mainly to the clear lines of classical Greek drama, Mozart plunged boldly into subjects of innumerable different kinds. Indeed, his great facility in writing and his constant need of accepting any offer which was made to him prevented him often from exercising a scrupulous choice of subject. For the sake of clearness, however, we may end this rapid glance at his work by recounting the principal operas with which the ordinary opera-goer in England may come in contact at the present day, recalling again a few circumstances connected with each.

Out of a number of youthful efforts the only one which may be met with is the little German 'Singspiel' *Bastien una Bastienne*,[1] and the first important opera in the grand style is

[1] Performed at Covent Garden in 1907.

Idomeneo (1781), which followed soon after Mozart had witnessed Gluck's triumph in Paris (see pp. 48 and 129). *Die Entführung* in the next year was his contribution to the Emperor's attempt to further German opera in Vienna. Then at the time of his own success at Prague come his two great comedies *Figaro* (1786) and *Don Giovanni* (1787), both welcomed in that town, and the latter written specially for performance there. Another comedy for which the libretto was supplied by the same man, Da Ponte, who had compiled the two preceding ones, was *Così fan tutti* (1790), after which comes a change again to the serious style of *La Clemenza di Tito*. This, written in a hurry for the coronation of the new emperor, made use of an old libretto by Metastasio, a story of Imperial Rome in the grandiloquent manner which opera, thanks to Gluck and Mozart, had outgrown.

Last of all comes that most extraordinary work *Die Zauberflöte*, written to a German libretto by Schikaneder, an actor-manager, who asked Mozart for music to a fairy play, by which he meant a work with no more consistency of design than one expects to find in a modern pantomime at Drury Lane. The story of *Die Zauberflöte* (The Magic Flute) has generally been set down as sheer nonsense, but modern criticism has done something to unravel its tangled threads in which Eastern fairy tales with a maze of magical occurrences and the mysteries of Free Masonry seemed inextricably mixed.[1] It is sufficient evidence of Mozart's astounding genius that in the last few months of his life, when his health was shattered, he was able to produce from such material an opera which, more than a hundred years afterwards, is still regarded as one of the great things of the art by the sheer force of its musical beauty.

ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER VII

The most which can be done generally to illustrate opera is to play overtures and ballet airs on the piano, and in some instances it may be possible to get some of the airs from *Orfeo*, *Armide*, and *Figaro* sung. Some of the choruses of Rameau and

[1] See Mr. E. J. Dent's *Mozart's Operas—a Critical Study*. *Die Zauberflöte* is now in the regular repertory of the Carl Rosa Opera Company and the B.N.O.C.

Gluck may be suggested by performance on the piano, but the *ensembles* of Mozart can scarcely be treated in this way. The vocal score of Rameau's *Castor et Pollux*, published by Durand et Cie, is obtainable from Augener & Co.; Gluck's operas (with French and German words) are published in Edition Peters; Mozart's *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni* (with Italian and English words) are published in Novello & Co.'s Popular Edition.

Gluck's *Orfeo*, being comparatively simple, may be illustrated rather more fully at the piano with a description of its story in the following way:

1. Play the overture and first chorus.

2. Sing the recitative 'Eurydice', pointing out the orchestral echoes.

3. Play or sing the first aria of Cupid.

4. Play examples from the dances of Furies, Orpheus's lute music, and choruses in Act II.

5. Play ballet music, particularly the air in D minor preceding the song of Eurydice.

6. If two singers, soprano and contralto, can be obtained, some examples from the dialogue between Orpheus and Eurydice should be given.

7. The air 'Che farò' must be played whether or not it can be sung, and its cumulative style pointed out. An interesting comparison may be made between the climaxes of 'Che farò' and of the 'Preislied' in *Die Meistersinger*.

CHAPTER VIII

BEETHOVEN

In one of the back streets of Bonn, between Cologne and Coblenz on the Rhine, there is a small house containing at the top a tiny garret with a sloping roof. In this room Ludwig van Beethoven was born on November 16, 1770. Like Mozart, he was the son of a musician engaged in the service of a local magnate, but any one who visits both the house of Mozart's birth in Salzburg and that of Beethoven's in Bonn can see that the circumstances of their childhood were widely different (see p. 41). Beethoven's father was a tenor singer in the chapel of the Elector of Cologne, a post which brought him in only a poor income. He was not, like Leopold Mozart, a man of any distinction in his profession, and though he gave his son his first music lessons he was very soon glad to hand over to others such education as Ludwig received. There were no triumphant tours over Europe for him; not that that was an evil in itself, but then there was not for him that systematic training for a musical career which Mozart received.

Beethoven, like Haydn, got his education largely through the need for acting upon his own initiative. When he was twelve years old he got the post of accompanist (on the piano or harpsichord) in the Electoral Theatre, which was practically the post of conductor, for at that time the practice still survived, at any rate in the smaller theatres, of making the man who accompanied the recitative also responsible for keeping the band together. We must not suppose that the fact of Beethoven being given this work at the age of twelve shows that he was recognized as a genius. He was of course seen to be a clever boy beyond his years in musicianship, but it rather goes to show how very little conducting was realized as an art. Nowadays the conductor controls the whole musical interpretation of an opera,

or at any rate he is supposed to do so; then the conductor was expected merely to give the *tempo* to the band in the accompaniment of the singers. So little was this young conductor considered that it was thought unnecessary to pay him for his services. His only payment was that of experience until, in 1784, a new Elector succeeded upon the death of the old one, and in the course of reorganizing the arrangements of the chapel Beethoven was made second organist with a small salary.

During these years he composed regularly, not with the superabundant confidence of Mozart at the same age, but with a steady persistence which showed that he meant to learn how to do it. He never at any time in his life had that facility which we find in most of the great earlier composers; there are many stories told of their speed in writing this or that work, and they showed by the quantities they left behind them that composition was to them a comparatively easy matter. Slowness is the first quality in Beethoven's character, marking him as typical of the change of attitude of musicians towards their art which came almost precisely at the turn of the century. We shall see that almost all Beethoven's great works (they began to appear at about the year 1800) were the result of long thought and mental struggle, during which he gradually shaped them out by a process of writing and rewriting, and that sometimes he took up a work after it had been finished and performed to remodel it more in accordance with his mature reflections.

It is uncertain how it came about that in 1787 he was able to make the long journey to Vienna, where he visited Mozart and succeeded in impressing him by his extemporized playing on the piano. Probably some friend interested in his progress sent him. Though the visit was a short one it was of immense importance to Beethoven. It gave him his first sight of the big musical world where great things happened, and it introduced him personally to the man who was making those things happen. This was the year after the success of *Figaro* and the Symphony in D at Prague. Mozart was in the act of preparing *Don Giovanni* for his second visit to Prague. He was for the moment on the crest of the wave.

Beethoven's compositions in the next few years after his return to Bonn are either more numerous or have been more carefully recorded as of greater importance. The year 1792 is the next landmark in his career. As far as outward circumstances are concerned it might be called the only landmark, for it saw the one important change in his life, his permanent removal from Bonn to Vienna. In this year he met Haydn travelling to and from England (see p. 55), showed him some of his work and was encouraged to go forward with it, and later in the year the opportunity was given him by his master, the Elector, to go again to Vienna, this time for definite study under Haydn. There seems to have been no precise understanding about his return, but, from the affectionate leave-taking of his friends in Bonn, who were many, it is evident that they realized the parting to be a long one. It was in fact a parting for good, for once caught in the busy life of the world's greatest musical centre no other sphere of action was large enough for Beethoven.

Like Mozart before him Beethoven made his reputation in Vienna as a performer. He played the piano at the musical gatherings of the Viennese nobility, and the wonders of his improvisation soon raised his reputation high. But from the first the reader of his life or his letters must realize the difference in their relationship. Beethoven did not ask for favours, he gave them; and his best friends, both men and women, people who ordinarily might have treated a musician to that mixture of patronage and flattery which is still common amongst amateurs, accepted his attitude unhesitatingly as a just one. They not only admired but loved him, and that in spite of all the outward features of his manners and habits which might offend a fastidious taste. We are not going to tell again here the many stories of Beethoven's rudeness and arrogance, sometimes even the ill-treatment and cruel suspicions of the actions of people who were devoted to him. They can be found in any book of anecdotes. The appearance of such things in a big nature are altogether different from their appearance in a small one, as refuse thrown up by the sea differs from that covering the surface of a stagnant pool. In Beethoven they were counter-

acted by the massive strength of his character, his overwhelming devotion to his art, and the capacity for tenderness which underlay the stormy exterior. Moreover, they were aggravated by physical causes, the chief among them being the deafness from which he began to suffer a few years after he reached Vienna. Morose irritability and particularly suspicion of others are well known as frequent accompaniments to disease of this kind; but when the disease attacks a man whose whole life and soul is expressed through the ears in music the affliction must prey upon him as the most terrible of evils.

At first the business of establishing himself as a performer and of studying composition, and more particularly of counterpoint with Haydn, occupied Beethoven fully. But his relations with his teacher were not altogether happy. Their contradictory natures jarred upon one another. Haydn probably could not understand Beethoven's incapacity to take life with the same easy stride which had carried him so well along its path. He missed the facile progress which he himself had made apparently against greater odds than Beethoven had to encounter. Beethoven, on the other hand, complained that Haydn did not enter with sufficient seriousness into his work. Their whole casts of mind were opposed. Even their racial difference would be sufficient to place them poles apart. Haydn, a southern Slav, who took in music and gave it out almost as unconsciously as he breathed, Beethoven a Teuton from the north, who instinctively submitted every impulse to be judged by a process of reasoning, naturally approached every subject from opposite points of view. To Haydn, no doubt, many matters of custom seemed to be unchangeable laws, and when Beethoven met his statement of the fact, 'It is so,' with the questions, 'But why is it so?' and 'Need it always be so?' he found he had a tiresome pupil and Beethoven found he had an unsatisfactory master. Yet each was too great not to realize the greatness of the other, though when Haydn went away again to England Beethoven was glad to get other teaching.

Early Compositions

It was while he was studying counterpoint with Albrechtsberger (1795), a teacher who probably suited Beethoven all the better for the fact that though he had profound knowledge he was not a great creative artist like Haydn, that Beethoven's own important compositions began to make their appearance. In this year he wrote his trios for pianoforte, violin, and violoncello (Op. 1), and his three piano sonatas (Op. 2) in F minor, A major, and C major, which, by the way, he dedicated to Haydn, showing his admiration for the artist whom he disliked as a teacher. At about this time or a little earlier he had composed the trio for two oboes and cor anglais (Op. 87),[1] the latter instrument a larger kind of oboe with a lower compass much used in the modern orchestra, the piano concerto in B flat (Op. 19), and that in C major (Op. 15).

These are the things which show him definitely starting upon the career of composition which was ultimately to change the whole face of musical art, not only enriching it with works of imperishable beauty in every existing branch, but leading the way towards all the fresh infusion of power which music has drawn from so many sources during the last century. Add to them the productions of the next few years, including the two sonatas for piano and violoncello (Op. 5), the trios for strings (violin, viola, and violoncello, Op. 9), further piano sonatas (Op. 10) and the famous 'Sonata pathétique' (Op. 13), that in B flat (Op. 22), and others, the first six string quartets (Op. 18), the septet (Op. 20) for clarinet, bassoon, horn, and strings, and the first symphony in C major (Op. 21), which brings the list up to the year 1800, and you see Beethoven at last taking a firm hold upon all the forms of solo, chamber, and orchestral music which he was to carry on to hitherto unsuspected heights.

We may well say 'at last' when we remember that by the age of thirty, which Beethoven reached in the year 1800, Haydn

[1] The late opus number of this trio, as of certain other early works, is due to the fact that it was not published at the time it was composed. The trio is very often to be heard at the Queen's Hall promenade concerts, given every autumn.

had carved out for himself the main principles of the quartet and the symphony; Mozart had produced the great bulk of his work except his greatest operas and symphonies. Haydn may well be forgiven if he felt some disappointment at the slowness with which his pupil got to work. It may seem more extraordinary that others among his friends, amateurs such as Count Waldstein who helped him in his life at Bonn, the Princes Lichnowsky and Lobkowitz who were among his staunch adherents from his first coming to Vienna, never doubted his supremacy among artists. That, however, is accounted for by Beethoven himself. It was the man, not his immediate achievements, upon whom his friends based their faith. He had that absolute confidence in himself which only giants among men can afford to keep. No matter how little his output might correspond for the moment to what was expected of him, he knew that his big powers would somehow or other result in big work. For him to take command of the society about him, to claim their compliance, even to trample unmercifully upon people who displeased him, before he had proved in actual works his right to such a position, was not to play a gambling game whatever else it might be, because he knew that he only needed time to justify himself completely.

Not only was he without Mozart's astounding facility, except indeed when he improvised at the piano, but he had nothing like the early originality of Haydn. He did not in these first compositions immediately begin to strike out a new path for himself. In some of them it is quite difficult to perceive the mind of Beethoven at work. The common shapes of sonata form he accepted just where Mozart left them. In the early sonatas for piano and other instruments there are a number of turns of expression which come straight from Mozart's vocabulary. You have only to play over the *adagio* of his first piano sonata (Op. 2) side by side with the *andante* of Mozart's piano sonata (Peters edition, No. 8; both are in the key of F major) to realize this. The main melodies are Beethoven's own, though they might have been thought of by almost any composer of the period, but his ways of ornamenting them, breaking them up with rapid

scale passages and particularly the additions of chromatic harmony here and there, are entirely Mozart's. Or, again, to go back for a moment to that little trio for oboes and cor anglais, even a fairly experienced listener might easily put it down to Haydn, and in doing so he would not think it one of Haydn's best works. It has caught something of his easy and genial spirit without being peculiarly interesting. We may say, speaking roughly, that the manners of both Haydn and Mozart are so obviously adopted in certain of these early works of Beethoven that if we had not got the things which followed them by which to test his musical character we might have a good deal of difficulty in tracing his personality in them. Nevertheless some things, particularly in the piano sonatas, would stand out clearly as his own. No one could miss the profound beauty of the melody of the *Largo appassionato* which forms the slow movement of the sonata in A (Op. 2, No. 2), or think that the majesty of its climax where it rises through the keys of D minor and B flat major was the thought of any brain but Beethoven's; but elsewhere, especially when he is writing for instruments with which he was less intimately acquainted than the piano, it is surprising how much of the general tone and colour bears a family resemblance to his predecessors.

One cannot emphasize this too strongly, because people, and especially young people, who make their first acquaintance with Beethoven through some of his very early works, often rebel against the demand to regard them and him with special awe and reverence. A great deal of his music seems very much like a great deal of other music, only not so attractive. It neither sparkles like Mozart's nor glows like Haydn's.

We will presently try to realize some of the ways in which Beethoven put his hall mark upon his own music, so that one can recognize him in it even where its outward shape is to a certain extent the result of circumstances from which he could not shake himself free for some time. It is comforting to know that when he had succeeded in doing so he was as inclined to be impatient of his first efforts as anybody else could possibly be. It is well known that when he heard somebody playing his

thirty-two variations upon a theme in C minor, a work from which many of us have suffered in our school-days, he exclaimed 'Oh, Beethoven, what an ass you were in those days!' and that is only one instance among many. He was ruthless in condemning whatever in his music he felt had been thoughtless, though such music was in fact the stepping-stone by which he had learnt to express himself more truly.

Method and Style

Before we begin to turn to detail, however, we must follow his life a little further, not so much to record its events as to get some idea of how he worked and developed. Events, indeed, matter less in the study of Beethoven's music than in that of almost any other composer. He never moved from Vienna except for the summer holidays in the country, which were only holidays in the sense that then he could give himself to the work of his life more entirely without interruption, or for the visits to Baden and elsewhere which he took for the sake of his general health or to try some fresh but always futile treatment to cure his deafness. In Vienna itself his story is mainly that of the successive appearances of his works at the houses of his friends or at public concerts. There were times when success favoured him, or when happiness both artistic and personal seemed nearly within his grasp. Such a time occurred in the year 1806 when he was writing both the fourth and fifth symphonies, almost the most crowded period of his creative life, during which he became engaged to be married to his pupil the Countess Theresa of Brunswick. But the engagement was never fulfilled. This, like all other prospects of happiness, eluded Beethoven. He was not always in poverty, but he never became rich, and he died poor. Almost the whole of the rest of his story is the series of difficulties over money matters (he was even more incapable of managing business than Mozart had been); his troubles with relatives who sponged upon him, especially his nephew and ward, Carl, to whom he ultimately left what little property he possessed; the opposition towards his works

shown chiefly by professional musicians, and the faithful admiration extended to them and him chiefly by amateurs. We need not attempt here to describe it all in detail, only the general stress and unhappiness of his life, which his growing fame seemed powerless to relieve, must be borne in mind if his music is to be understood.

Outside the purely personal considerations we must not forget the drastic changes which passed over the whole of European society just when the new century was beginning, changes which affected artistic and intellectual life as radically, if not quite as rapidly, as they affected political life. The great revolution in France was the first strong outward sign that the older civilization of the eighteenth century was breaking up, and in the first years of the nineteenth century the whole of Europe was in a ferment. It may seem that wars and material catastrophes, as we pointed out in the first Part (p. 90), do not check artistic progress effectually, but the intellectual ideas of which wars are a symptom must affect the course of an art very powerfully. Twice during the most productive part of Beethoven's career Vienna was occupied by the armies of Napoleon, but his work went steadily forward. Nevertheless, the idea which brought those armies into existence, since it permeated the whole of European life, was at the very root of Beethoven's music. That idea which dethroned kings, swept away the landmarks of the older social régime, and changed the whole attitude of individuals towards religion and the state, was simply this, that nothing was any longer to be taken on trust. Life could be made what men chose to make of it if only they were strong enough. The French revolutionists' cry of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity' was the party cry of the moment, and as we know brought anything but a literal fulfilment. What it really meant was the assertion of independent thought and action, and this spirit was stirring in the English and German nations, who were vigorously opposed to its most violent political developments in France. It was the spirit which gave birth to the inventive genius of the nineteenth century, which ultimately brought railroads and electricity, Reform Bills and Trades Unions; it animated the

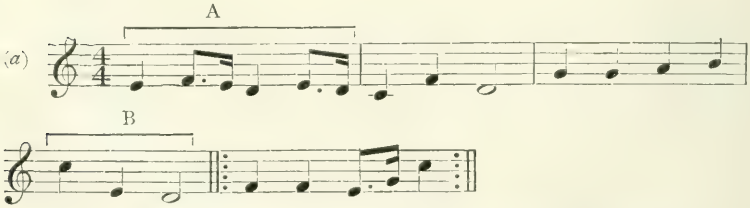
poetic thought of Goethe and Schiller, and infused itself into the music of Beethoven from the 'Sonata appassionata' to the Ninth Symphony.

Here we may find the strongest reason for Beethoven's slow working and his comparatively small output. Haydn and Mozart could turn out symphonies and quartets by the dozen because they accepted certain principles of order without question. Everything that was beautiful was worth expressing and could be expressed by certain means which they and their contemporaries had learnt to use readily. With Beethoven every work must be a matter of strong personal conviction; it must be thought out afresh from the beginning, since nothing was fixed once and for all; there were no rules to be taken for granted. When he looked back to his early works and found how much he had taken for granted, the discovery disgusted him and caused such outbursts of anger against himself as his remark about the thirty-two variations. His was not a nature to indulge in a violent revolution like Monteverde; to issue manifestoes about what art ought to be and what it was not, like Gluck and Wagner. That would have been to set up a new set of rules in place of the old ones. He was too entirely a musical artist to make words first and music afterwards, but with everything he produced the conviction that he must solve each problem in its own way forced itself more strongly upon him. Something which before he had accepted unhesitatingly had to give way before his clearer vision. First it was the mannerisms of melody and ornament which he had inherited from Haydn and Mozart. Then he felt that his own ideas as he first put them on paper did not represent his feeling truly and accurately. He adopted the plan of putting them down just as they came, merely catching a glimpse of his thought as it passed; then he sifted them, discovering what part really represented that thought, what was the chance of the moment or due to mere convention of style; and so, rejecting the latter and perfecting what he felt to be genuine, he gradually formed his melodies, extended them, and moulded them into complete shape.

These things fill his sketch-books, large volumes of rough music paper which he constantly carried with him, and many of which have been preserved.[1] In them we can see many of his greatest works gradually taking form. People have been surprised to learn that he worked in this way, and have wondered how the finished melody could appear to be so spontaneous when it was arrived at by such labour. They have even talked nonsense about inspiration, and imagined that a great composer ought to write down everything on the spur of the moment, conceive a symphony in a flash, and never rest till the score was completed. True, there have been men who could work like that; Mozart must often have done so, and Schubert certainly did. But inspiration is not in the least affected by the process of composition. Beethoven's inspiration came before he put anything on the paper at all, and he caught it fixing it in his mind by the few rough scrawls of melody which he jotted in his sketch-book. They would be enough to recall the sense of it to him. Everything he did afterwards was merely clearing away the rubbish which he knew obscured his thought, and whether there was much or little of this process to be done made no difference to the beauty of the inspiration when once it appeared cleared of every contamination. Sometimes the sketch-books[2] show that for the moment he cleared away an essential feature, mistaking it for rubbish, and had to put it back again afterwards.

Here is an example in the growth of the tune which forms the splendid central movement of the piano concerto in E flat. The following (Ex. 20 *a*) is the first rough sketch:

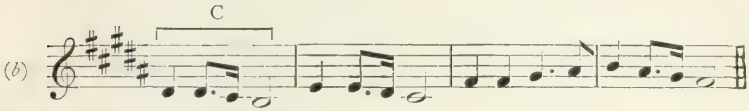
Ex. 20.



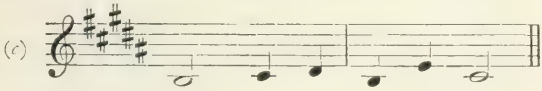
[1] Some of these sketch-books may be seen displayed in the British Museum.

[2] For these and other sketches of Beethoven see Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana.*

Beethoven evidently felt the commonplace fussiness of the first bar (A) to be an interference with his thought, for next time he tried to give it more dignity by expanding it into two bars (Ex. 20 *b*). This deprived him of the beautiful rise of the fourth

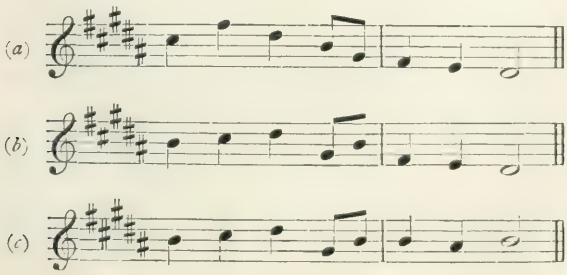


in bar 2 and made him also abandon the corresponding drop of a sixth (B) in order to make his fourth bar balance the rhythm of bars 1 and 2. But both these things were essential parts of his thought which he could not do without. They had to come back. Next, therefore, he gave up the rhythm (C) and adopted a calmer beginning which secured once more the rising fourth (Ex. 20 *c*);



and in this only one note, the first, had to be altered eventually to D in order to secure the perfect poise he wanted. The endings had to be sought with equal care. Here are three (Ex. 21). The first sprawls loosely over a wide range of notes; the second contracts, but is still too wide; the third is the restrained final one, all the more expressive for its restraint.

Ex. 21.



Beethoven's whole attitude towards the subject of musical form can be understood in the light of this new spirit, which made him bring everything to the test of experience. The great majority of his works were composed within the short period of twelve years; that is to say, from the year 1800 when the first symphony appeared to the year 1812 when he produced the seventh in A major and the eighth in F major; and they follow the broad lines of existing forms. They are a logical development out of the sonata form which Haydn and Mozart had evolved and applied with various modifications to solo sonatas, the string quartet, and the orchestral symphony. They are in direct succession; there is no break, no throwing aside of the prizes won by his predecessors. But that does not imply that Beethoven took the form for granted all this time, even though he did so at first. On the contrary, the better one knows his work the more one realizes that he constantly considered it afresh to see whether it was fit to bear the weight of what he wanted to express, and only accepted it because he found it fit. Where he was not satisfied with it he altered his design, but as we have seen sonata form was never a matter of hard and fast rules. Haydn had expanded it from the pattern of his Weinzirl quartets to those of his Salomon symphonies. It was no less adaptable to Beethoven's growing nature than it had been to Haydn's, and it endured the strain put upon it from the sonatas of Opus 2 up to the magnificent symphony in A major.

In his last years Beethoven had something yet to say for which the principles of sonata form would not altogether suffice, and so we find him boldly dispensing with it, launching out alone 'towards the unknown region', to give his last utterances in newer and more purely individual shapes. For that reason we shall not speak particularly of Beethoven's last works, of the Mass in D, the ninth symphony, the last sonatas and string quartets in this volume. They will form our point of departure when we study a few out of the many aspects of modern music in the third of this series. Nor in dealing with the larger mass of his music will we make an attempt to review the whole ground superficially. We will pursue our plan of

looking closely at a few salient examples in various styles and try to get an insight into his nature from them, which may be expanded and deepened as you come into closer contact with his music.

Summary of Principal Compositions

But first a few words will be practically useful as to the general order in which his best-known masterpieces appeared. We have mentioned some of those which are grouped round the first symphony. In 1801 came the fine quintet for strings (Op. 29), together with his only Oratorio, 'The Mount of Olives,' which does not altogether deserve the same epithet. Beethoven's sense of the real relation between words and music, and how the feeling of words is best expressed in music, was extraordinarily slow to develop, and indeed was never developed with that certainty which he had in handling purely musical thought. The year was rich in piano sonatas. To it belong the one in A flat (Op. 26), containing the noble funeral march; that in D (Op. 28) often called the Pastoral Sonata because of the gracious flow of its themes and the bucolic humour of its last movement; and the two in E flat major and C sharp minor, both described by Beethoven as 'in the manner of a fantasia'. The last has gained the name of the 'Moonlight' sonata, which is unfortunate because the name gives people the excuse to think of something else instead of the music when they listen to it. If you can hear the first movement without thinking of moonlight you are much more likely to understand and enjoy Beethoven than if you indulge in fancies which have nothing to do with his meaning.

In 1802 he was at work upon his second symphony, and the sonatas of Opus 31, of which the one in D minor is the most striking, also occupied him. That sonata has been called the 'Dramatic' chiefly because of the recitative passages in its first movement (see p. 61). Two sets of variations for piano (Opp. 34 and 35) are also important for they show him treating the form less as an exercise in technique and more for the expression of definite musical ideas. Opus 34, on a theme in F major, makes

each variation a complete piece having some character entirely its own as well as being in a key of its own, so that the whole effect is rather of a suite upon a single theme than of a set of formal variations. The variations of Opus 35 are on the theme[1] which he afterwards used in the last movement of the third symphony, so that they may be considered to be a sketch for the symphony.

The violin and piano sonatas (Op. 30) were written in this year, and in the following one (1803) came the famous Kreutzer sonata (violin and piano), which was written for a violinist named Bridgetower and first played by him and Beethoven. A quarrel, however, made Beethoven afterwards change the dedication to Kreutzer, a much more eminent violinist and composer. During this year too Beethoven was at work upon his third symphony, which was to be dedicated to Napoleon Bonaparte, whom as Consul of the French Republic he admired enthusiastically as a soldier, a statesman, and the champion of liberty. His symphony must be a heroic one to be worthy of such a hero. Strength and daring must be combined in it; the former expressed in its splendid proportions and its obedience to law, the latter in any flight of imaginative melody and harmony which might be suggested to his thought. In the spring of 1804 the score was finished and the title-page bore the name of the hero when the news that Napoleon had accepted the title of emperor reached him. The idol had fallen; this great man of the people was then only a tyrant ambitious of personal power. Beethoven would have none of him, and he tore off the title-page. But the symphony remained heroic whatever Beethoven might think of the man whom he had idolized, and it has been rightly known as 'Sinfonia eroica', or more colloquially 'the Eroica', ever since.

In 1804 appeared the famous sonata for piano in C which Beethoven dedicated to his old friend Count Waldstein, and which is always known by his name; and in 1805 he turned his attention to opera and wrote his only work of that kind, *Fidelio*. The visit of Cherubini to Vienna influenced him considerably

[1] He had already used this theme in his ballet music to *Prometheus*.

here. He greatly admired Cherubini's polished style of workmanship, and not being himself a born operatic composer he did not realize the defect of Cherubini's qualities. We have seen that the one excuse for opera is that it expresses something which only opera can express. The best things in *Fidelio* are expressed by music alone or music in song. Its beauties are not those which are inevitably connected with a drama acted on the stage. It was not a success when it was first produced in November, 1805, but that was largely owing to the troubled state of the time. Vienna was in the hands of the French, and all the Viennese aristocracy who could do so had decamped before the face of the invaders. Subsequently Beethoven revised *Fidelio*, reducing it from three acts to two. The original overture was the one known as 'Leonora II'.[1] This Beethoven afterwards rewrote, using the same ideas but improving the structure greatly in the overture called Leonora III. At a later time he wrote two other overtures to his opera, quite distinct from the first and called Leonora I and 'Fidelio', the latter being the one used for its revival in 1814 and permanently associated with the opera.

Beethoven's *Fidelio* is a romantic story of mediaeval Spain. Florestan has been wrongfully imprisoned by Pizarro, the governor of a state prison near Seville, and Pizarro is determined to secure the death of his prisoner and to conceal the crime. Leonora, the wife of Florestan, risks her own life in order to save her husband, by coming to the prison disguised as a boy and calling herself Fidelio. She secures admission by engaging to help the jailer Rocco in his work, and is made to enter the cell of Florestan and take part in the gruesome work of digging the grave of Florestan beneath the floor of the cell. She finds her husband, who does not recognize her, in the last stage of despair and fainting from starvation. Pizarro enters to hurry the work. Don Fernando, the minister of prisons, is expected, and Pizarro

[1] The occurrence of the numbers II, III, and I in their wrong order is simply the result of a publisher's mistake, but as they have become known all over the world as the titles of the overtures, it is hopeless to correct the mistake. Leonora is the name of the heroine of the opera.

must carry out the plot before his arrival or run the risk of exposure. Leonora's one hope then is in delay, and in order to cause it she at last declares herself to be the wife of Florestan and throws herself between the men. At the critical moment a trumpet fanfare is heard proclaiming the arrival of the minister; Florestan and Leonora are saved, Pizarro is accused before Don Fernando and condemned, and so with the punishment of the villain and the restoration of Florestan and Leonora to life and happiness the opera ends.

We have described the main outline of the story chiefly because it serves as a commentary upon the series of overtures, all of which are frequently heard in the concert room. In those called Leonora II and Leonora III Beethoven evidently had the main plot of the opera strongly in mind. In the later pair, Leonora I and 'Fidelio', he aimed not so much at giving an epitome of the drama as providing a prelude which would prepare the way for the general feeling of the opera with less regard to its incidents. Leonora I, indeed, is comparatively slight, and its bright spirit seems to be suggested more by the subsidiary comedy of the first act, the scenes in which the jailer's daughter fancies herself in love with the supposed boy Fidelio, than by the main theme of the opera developed in the second act, although there are some phrases which are contained in the subsequent music of Florestan.

Beethoven was evidently in great doubt as to what would make the best prelude to his opera, and from that point of view his final effort, now known as the *Fidelio* overture, is the most satisfactory. But in themselves the earlier ones are the finest music, and Leonora III, containing the essential features of Leonora II placed together in better proportion, stands at the head of them all.

The slow introduction to Leonora III opens with a long descending passage which gives the suggestion of passing from daylight into gloom, and seems to carry us down into the dismal cell where Florestan lies chained. Almost immediately there follows a hint of his song from Act II, 'In des Lebens Frühlingstagen ist das Glück von mir gefloh'n' ('In the springtide of

life happiness has fled from me '), so that the contrast between his hopeless state and the strong pulsing life of the *allegro* movement seems directly pictured. That wonderful movement, welling up out of a syncopated melody begun softly by violins and violoncellos, is indescribable, but its wealth of romantic beauty appeals instantly to the hearer. At the height of its development it is arrested by the distant sound of the trumpet upon the prison tower. There is a dramatic pause, after which a new melody charged with a mysterious sense of expectancy steals in. The trumpet call is also introduced in Leonora II, but this melody which fills the same place in the opera was not made use of in the earlier overture. The sense of agitation is also heightened by a curious ascending chromatic passage between violins and basses, which would be in octaves were it not that the bass lags behind, so that we get a series of discordant minor ninths finally resolved into the joyful return of the first subject. Again, before the last presentment of that subject there is a hurrying passage for the violins in which the accent is continually thrown across the bar, producing a feeling of the intensest excitement.

The result of the whole is that we feel we have got the essence of the drama distilled in music before the curtain rises on the opera. Beethoven must have felt this too, and to avoid anticipating the climax he deposed the overture Leonora III from its place and substituted his later overtures.

The year 1806 was crowded with instrumental composition. Beethoven was working at the great symphony in C minor, and in the full tide of work he put it on one side to compose the smaller but intensely beautiful one in B flat, which thus became his fourth symphony. Moreover in this year he had on hand the concerto in G for piano and small orchestra ; the three string quartets (Op. 59) dedicated to the Russian ambassador, Count Rasoumowsky ; the piano 'Sonata appassionata' in F minor, composed in the summer (at the house of Count Brunswick, to whose sister Beethoven became engaged) ; and at the end of the year the violin concerto was played for the first time. It is an overwhelming output when we remember that each of these things is a masterpiece in which there is no overlapping of thought,

no single idea which might as well belong elsewhere. Yet his energy in the next few years scarcely slackened. In the spring of 1807 a remarkable concert was given in Vienna, at which all the four completed symphonies (C major, D major, E flat major —'Eroica'—and B flat major) were performed, and in this year the 'Coriolan' overture, and the Mass in C were written while he made progress with the C minor symphony (No. 5). This was completed in 1808, with the sixth called the 'Pastoral' symphony. The last stands apart from the others of the series. It is the frank expression of, or musical commentary upon, scenes of country life and Beethoven's feeling of love for the country. In the slow movement he goes so far as playfully to imitate the calls of birds, the nightingale, the quail, and the cuckoo; the running brooks, a thunderstorm, and peasant merry-making are all pictured in it. Beethoven was giving himself a holiday from serious thoughts and deep feelings. Certainly, no one ever deserved a holiday more. In this year Beethoven secured the friendship of the Archduke Rudolph, to whom he dedicated the piano concerto in G, and whose title is famous in the beautiful trio in B flat (Op. 97) composed at a later date (1811), and often spoken of as 'the Archduke' from its dedication. This man was a good friend to Beethoven and with several others subscribed to give him a regular income to secure him from want. The piano sonata (Op. 81), whose three movements are called 'Les adieux, l'absence, et le retour', was written in the following year to tell something of what Beethoven felt on losing him for a time and to celebrate his return.

In 1809 also (the year of Haydn's death, though that was not publicly noticed by Beethoven) were written the last and noblest of his piano concertos, the one in E flat, known as 'the Emperor' simply because of its grandeur, and also a string quartet in the same key called the 'harp' quartet because of the form of some arpeggio passages it contains.

In 1810 and 1811 there is a certain slackening in the amount of big work produced, but Beethoven was preparing for another outburst of symphonies. Still 1810 contains the music to 'Egmont', the string quartet in F minor (Op. 95), and 1811 the

trio already named, the overtures 'King Stephen' and 'The Ruins of Athens'. But in 1812 came the symphony in A (No. 7) and its smaller companion in F (No. 8), and at a concert given to celebrate the defeat of the French by Wellington at Vittoria and by the Russians with climate and starvation to help them at Moscow, the symphony in A was publicly performed on December 8, 1813. With it was given another work by Beethoven which it is agreed was unworthy of him, a battle-piece called 'Wellington's Victory', which, except for its historical interest, need not be remembered.

After this Beethoven's creative work became continually slower and more difficult to him, partly because he was involved in every kind of personal difficulty, including lawsuits and quarrels, partly because his deafness drove him to a more and more introspective habit of mind which made it increasingly difficult to him to find the right expression of his inmost thoughts. In 1814, when *Fidelio* was revived at the opera, we find the beautiful piano sonata in E minor (Op. 90) and the overture 'Namensfeier'.

In 1815 there was little new work beyond an overture 'Meeresstille', and after that composition almost ceased. But there was renewed energy from 1818 onward when the Mass in D and the ninth symphony occupied him in turn. With Beethoven it always seems that one effort generated another, for in these years came the last set of piano sonatas (from Op. 106 to Op. 111). Parts of the Mass and the whole of the symphony with a new overture, 'Die Weihe des Hauses' (The Dedication of the House), were at last produced at a concert given in the theatre 'An der Wien', where so many of Beethoven's works had been produced, on May 7, 1823. He continued full of plans and ideas for future works in the few years which were left him, but all he could actually complete were the series of six string quartets including the 'Grand Fugue', great rhapsodies in which he strove to make permanent the visions which crowded in upon him. In the course of 1826, however, illness seized him and he could not go on. His body was exhausted though his brain was as fertile as ever, and he died on March 26, 1827.

The Piano Sonatas

We can get a view of Beethoven's music most readily through the piano sonatas, and as we have seen that practically every phase of his career is reflected in what he wrote for the piano, and almost every big effort in other directions is accompanied by the composition of these works for the piano, we may take the series of thirty-two piano sonatas as fairly representative of the whole man, a sort of private diary for himself and his friends. We must necessarily choose out certain specimens, neglecting others, and as our main object is to get at the elements which formed his musical character it will be well to pay the closest attention to what appeared while that character was in the making. We can then afford to pass the later works with slighter reference, leaving those who really want to know to make their own discoveries as we did in the cases of Haydn and Mozart.

The first three sonatas, in spite of all the suggestions of other minds contained in them, give us plenty to think about. The first in F minor is the least mature. An arpeggio figure over the notes of the key chord was so common an opening with the composers of the eighteenth century that it may almost be compared to the conventional 'Ladies and Gentlemen' with which a public speaker begins his speech (cf. Ex. 11, p. 74). Beethoven uses it here, but it is no figure of speech to be got over and forgotten. Notice the way he ends it crisply with a sharply turned triplet figure, and then how he urges the importance of both the arpeggio and the triplet by repetition and reinforcement upon other degrees of the scale.[1]

The second theme, when it arrives in the twenty-first bar, proves to be a free inversion of this arpeggio theme in the same rhythm, but speaking in a softer and more persuasive tone of voice. In this movement, then, we get two of Beethoven's salient

[1] Sir Hubert Parry has compared the structure of this passage with the similar opening of the *finale* in Mozart's Symphony in G minor in *The Art of Music*, p. 263. His analysis deserves study, but the comparison is rather for the teacher than the pupil, for to the latter it might suggest that Mozart could not use the art of immediate and consistent development, and the whole point of the chapter on his symphonies in this book has been to show that he was a consummate master in that art.

characteristics: his abruptness of speech, and his way of becoming immediately absorbed in the subject which he has begun upon. We may find a third by comparing the *codetta* before the double bar with the *coda* at the end of the movement. In the former a perfect cadence is reiterated, culminating in the emphatic dominant chord, which sinks to the quieter tonic chord of the new key (A flat). In the latter the same point, instead of being a dominant chord, is one which modulates out of the key. The phrase is repeated a tone lower, still further suggesting a foreign key, and then a series of chords leads grandly back to F minor.

The Coda

It was a favourite device of Beethoven suddenly, when one expected familiar things, to open up a new vista of harmony and shake off the fetters of convention. Since the *coda* is the place where one begins to foresee the end, he particularly loved to give something unforeseen there. Sometimes these surprises were humorous, as Haydn's generally were, as, for example, in the *finale* of the sonata in C minor (Op. 10, No. 1), a movement which has something of Haydn's rollicking spirit, and where just before the end he checks the flow to give the second subject, getting slower and slower in the remote key of D flat major. He gradually lulls his hearers to rest, and then, with a sweeping arpeggio, picks up the thread of his discourse and makes a rapid end. Yet in the humour there is something reflective and regretful, it is not like the boyish practical joking of Haydn.

A similar case is the *coda* to the last movement of the sonata in C (Op. 2, No. 3), where it is impossible to draw the line between humour and sorrow. We only feel that both are there. Sometimes these adventurous codas are wholly tender in feeling, such as the one to the rondo of the sonata in E flat (Op. 7). Here Beethoven leads up strongly to the dominant (B flat) from which the commonplace mind expects him to return by the ordinary road. He changes it to B natural, dwells softly on the new note, and then introduces the chief theme in the key of E major with a sigh, as though it longed for greater freedom, but it is caught back again by a fate which compels it into the key of E flat.

So rich and varied are the sudden transitions of Beethoven's codas that we might fill a volume of the size of this one in examining them. The fact that there is nothing of the kind which is very distinctive in the last movement of the first sonata is one of its chief signs of immaturity, and that movement should be played in order to point out the difference between what is really Beethoven's self and what is more or less conventional work.

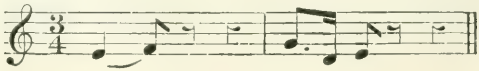
The second sonata contains a much greater variety of material in its first movement than the one before it does, but what marks it most is the wonderful slow movement.

Slow Movements

Here we get the first of the long series of Beethoven's slow movements, which are one of the greatest evidences of his genius. Speaking generally, we may say that Mozart was most spontaneous in his first *allegro* movements, Haydn in his minuets and finales, Beethoven in his slow movements. That, of course, is the very roughest generalization, liable to be upset by many special instances, but on the whole it is supported by the characters of the men. Mozart's keen intellectual energy, Haydn's frank joy in living, Beethoven's profound feeling found their most natural expressions in these various types. One need not analyse closely the *largo* of the sonata in A to perceive its depth. That stately melody moving over the staccato bass tells at once that we are meeting Beethoven in his most serious mood. Here nothing is added merely for decoration to keep an interest alive which might otherwise flag; Beethoven marches serenely through the whole of its development without one misgiving or one afterthought.

The majority of the early sonatas have long and intensely beautiful slow movements, with melodies ranging over a wide expanse, but always proceeding straight from the first thought, with nothing diffuse or superficial. That of the sonata in E flat (Op. 7) is, except for its contrasting section in A flat, almost entirely evolved from the melodic germ of the first two bars.

Ex. 22.



Beethoven uses the greatest freedom of form and modulation, trusting implicitly to his thought to develop itself logically.

Others among the greatest of these are the elegiac *largo* in the sonata in D major (Op. 10, No. 3) and the less passionate but equally majestic *adagio* to the sonata in B flat (Op. 22), which, by the way, is developed in complete first movement form. Those which do not reach to the same heights often have a pure lyrical beauty of their own. Such are the *adagios* of the little sonata in C minor (Op. 10, No. 1) and of the Sonata Pathétique (Op. 13), in both of which the great charm lies in the initial melody presented as a whole in the first eight bars and set off against contrasting ideas of less importance.

The third sonata of Op. 2, in C major, is on a bigger scale than its predecessors. One sees again Beethoven's abruptness in the muttered phrase with which it opens, and his consistency in his treatment of the little group of semiquavers. Presently he breaks away from them in freer movement, soaring up in a clamorous passage. The opening of this movement ought to be carefully compared with the opening of the sonata in B flat, Op. 22, which is similar in idea. In the later work, however, the idea seems to be better carried out in the semiquaver passage, rising in a wave which bursts into a radiant melody at its height. Even if we find a few passages in this first movement in C major which seem a little less significant than others, one feels that Beethoven has launched out upon a bigger scheme than he attempted to deal with in either of the first two sonatas of this set. He is working on the lines which he afterwards followed up in the Sonata Pathétique (Op. 13) and the 'Appassionata' in F minor. Strongly opposed ideas, passionate moments of feeling succeeded by gentler reflections and violent contrasts of tone follow one another through the long development. Look at the sweeping arpeggios passing through various keys till they come quietly to rest upon a reminiscence of the first subject in D major; then see the turbulent sequences in octaves involving strong discords which obliterate for a time that subject, and finally, when the course of the movement seems to be nearly run, Beethoven takes a great plunge on to a chord of A flat (bar 220) followed by mountainous waves

of arpeggios which ultimately scatter themselves in a *cadenza.* Here, indeed, the stormy spirit expresses itself unflinchingly. You must not miss the sudden outburst in the middle of the gentler slow movement, where the theme, which before (in E major) had been contemplative rather than vigorous, is suddenly asserted *fortissimo* in the key of C as if in rebellion against its original calm character.

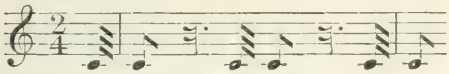
The Scherzo

The *scherzo* of this sonata sufficiently forecasts Beethoven's subsequent use of that form to be taken as typical. Haydn in his later years had tended to turn the minuet into a *scherzo,* an Italian word which means a joke or plaything. He had abandoned the dance measure but generally kept the name of minuet. Beethoven adopted the name *Scherzo,* and his treatment of it here is very like Haydn's treatment of his later minuets. He begins it in the manner of a trio for strings, each part entering in turn with the tripping figure which is the principal theme. It is thoroughly jocular in spirit, though again it has not the unclouded good humour of Haydn. Those strong chords and *sforzandi* in the middle make one feel that Beethoven's humour could cut deeply, and the *coda* in which the theme gradually disappears with a growl in the bass shows that it is not a humour to be trifled with. As Beethoven progressed his *scherzi* became more complex, not so much technically as emotionally, until we come to examples like that in the fifth symphony, which cannot be considered as humorous or lightsome in the least; in it the sense of brooding tragedy is all the more felt for the fact that it is veiled by the delicacy of the form. There are jokes which make one want to cry, but only a grown-up person can understand that.

Generally we have to go outside the piano sonatas and look among the chamber music and the symphonies for Beethoven's most characteristic treatment of the *scherzo.* Each of the six quartets of Op. 18 contains a *scherzo* (though the one in No. 5, A major, is called a minuet), but in the piano sonatas its appearance is infrequent. Sometimes its place is taken by an *allegretto* which has not the *scherzo* character, as in the F major sonata

(Op. 10, No. 2), where the *allegretto* takes the place of both slow movement and *scherzo*, combining some of the feeling of each; sometimes by a genuine minuet as in Op. 10, No. 3, and in Op. 22. Very often the *scherzo* or its equivalent is passed over altogether and the sonata adopts the old three-movement form which C. P. E. Bach always used. That is the case in the first two out of the three which are grouped as Op. 31. In Op. 31, No. 3, however, Beethoven adopts the unusual plan of writing both a *scherzo* and a minuet without a slow movement. To hear them played together is to realize at once the essential difference between the character of the two. The *scherzo* is not even in triple time, which was generally the one feature to survive and remind us of its evolution out of the old dance. Its staccato bass and the persistent rhythm (Ex. 23)

Ex. 23.



are the things on which Beethoven relies to give it the crisp character of a *scherzo*. With this the suave measure of the true minuet following contrasts effectively, and his bringing them together is a definite acknowledgement that henceforward the two represent to him distinct types, and the names can no longer be vaguely interchanged as before had often been the case.

Changes in Sonata Form

Other changes in design had already been made by him to suit the needs of the moment. The transposition of the order of the several movements, particularly the placing of the slow movement first, which Haydn had tried in his early quartets but generally abandoned (see p. 67), seemed to Beethoven desirable in the two sonatas 'like fantasias' (Op. 27). The first one (in E flat) begins with a curiously formal and rather tentative movement broken in upon by an impulsive *allegro*. The formality and hesitancy are, of course, intentional features that the *allegro* may come with the greater force, which is even exceeded by the rush of the *scherzo* later. The whole of this

sonata shows Beethoven determined to link the several movements together in one great scheme. At the end of each there is a direction to the player to go straight on to the next one, so that there should never be a pause for applause when it is played in public. Not only this, but the movements are less self-sufficing than in the earlier sonatas; they depend intimately upon one another. There is the *andante*, of which we have spoken, with the *allegro* in the middle of it; then the *scherzo* with its trio, for the second time sweeping away the formal atmosphere of the *andante*; then a brooding *adagio*, though Beethoven is too restless to dwell upon it for long, for he brushes it aside with a *cadenza* leading straight into a vigorous rondo, the last and most fully developed movement in the sonata. Still, however, he cannot be content to end in an exuberant spirit without one look back to the *adagio* which he had cut short before. And just before the *coda* he recalls it.

This tendency to join his ideas more closely grew upon Beethoven with years. Not that he ever adopted it as a fixed principle, for sometimes he chose to separate his movements distinctly from one another, and indeed the last of his piano sonatas (Op. 111) is so divided. But often he could not bear to pause between one idea and the next, and he would take a last look in the course of a finale at some feature in an earlier movement which meant much to him. The fifth symphony gives us a striking example, for there, as every one will remember, the *scherzo* wells up to a climax culminating in the triumph of the *finale*. Yet Beethoven is not content with his triumph, for before the end he lets us know that the tapping rhythm of the *scherzo* still haunts him.

The second of the 'Fantasia' sonatas, in C sharp minor, probably the most popular of all, is much simpler in design than the first. It contains only a slow movement, a delicate *allegretto*, and a rushing, tearing *presto*. The real objection to the name of 'Moonlight' is that it is apt to make people think only of the slow movement and separate it from its context. The slow movement is certainly one of the most lyrically beautiful things ever written; its pure melody appeals to the heart of every one

at once, and we need not make words about it. But Beethoven does not stop there. In the *allegretto* he rouses himself from his reverie, half regretfully, for he still dwells upon harmonies which melt into one another, but in the *presto* he casts it off altogether and braces himself for action. He does it with difficulty, for the yearning sense comes back upon him in all the three themes grouped together as the second subject. Notice the persistence of downward phrases in these counteracting the virile upward ones of the first subject. The strife between the two goes on to the end, but the sonata taken as a whole is a continual *crescendo* of energy, no vague moonlit dream.

Later Sonatas

In the later sonatas (not the latest), of which the 'Waldstein' and the 'Appassionata' are the outstanding examples, we see Beethoven working upon a still larger canvas. Here he unifies his ideas not so much by linking the movements together, though the slow movement of the Appassionata passes straight into the finale, as by putting many ideas into one movement. So big are his first and last movements that the middle ones are reduced, and in fact he cut out the slow movement[1] which he originally wrote for the Waldstein.

Many of the sonatas of this period have only two movements, from the beautiful little one in F (Op. 54) which stands between these two giants, to the larger Op. 90 in E minor. Beethoven's style was altering all through this time. In many of them we miss the sustained purity of melody which made the earlier ones, and especially their long slow movements, so appealing. Instead we have greater force of phrase, more nervous energy, and strength in development. It is the work of a man who is becoming daily more cut off from the rest of human life and is forced to live in the region of his own thought. Most of these works cannot be so fascinating to one when one is young, and perhaps they are best left alone then. One grows up to them gradually.

But we get a glimpse of Beethoven's more simple style again in the E minor sonata (Op. 90). Its melodies in themselves are

[1] This is published separately as the 'Andante favori' in F.

enough to assure us that he was not outgrowing the love of beauty for its own sake, though other considerations often pressed in upon him and clamoured for expression.

If you have followed some of the examples mentioned and heard them in the actual music played upon the piano (not unless), you must have got some notion of Beethoven's character, of how he stepped out far beyond his predecessors in the boldness and variety of what he had to say, and of why his position is unique. If so, we may safely leave individual works to explain themselves as you have opportunity for getting to know them.

The Orchestra

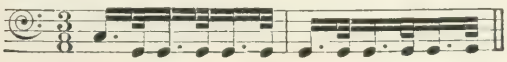
But though we have to pass over whole classes of works including the string quartets, the greatest masterpieces in that form ever written, we cannot close without a glance at what Beethoven did with the orchestra, particularly in the first seven of his nine symphonies.[1]

In the matter of orchestration Beethoven was able at once to take a bolder line than had been possible to those who went before him. They had helped to form the instrument, to settle the balance of its component parts. Beethoven inherited their technique, and in the first symphony he makes use of what to Haydn and Mozart was a very full orchestra. The wood-wind consists of flutes, oboes, clarinets, and bassoons (two each), two horns, two trumpets, drums, and strings, and it is worth while to notice that the brass and drums are used in every movement, which means that Beethoven never thought of them as mere make-weights for noisy moments. It is true that some of the limitations of older times seem to cling round him. He is rather fearful of letting the clarinets speak by themselves, and sometimes he makes the wood-wind double each other and the strings clumsily. These things serve to show his starting-point. On the other hand, we find the trumpets and drums asserting their individuality; the former in the coda to the first movement,

[1] For detailed analysis of the symphonies and a careful description of all the circumstances of Beethoven's life with which they were connected, teachers should read Sir George Grove's *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies.*

where they imitate the rest of the orchestra in a passage from the principal theme, the latter in the *andante*, where twice the drum sustains a rhythm (Ex. 24) alone through a number of bars.

Ex. 24.



The symphony contains four movements. A short slow introduction of striking harmony (the first chord heard is a flat seventh on the key-note) leads to an *allegro*. Then there is a delicate *andante*, the theme of which recalls the slow movement of Mozart's G minor symphony, a so-called minuet which is really an unmistakable *scherzo*, which no one but Beethoven could have written, and a *finale*. One wonders, on the other hand, that Haydn did not write the tune of the *finale*. It is so much more like him than like Beethoven. This is enough to show that there is the same uncertainty in the first symphony that we found in the first piano sonata, and may be also seen in the first two piano concertos. Beethoven does not quite know what is his true self.

By the time he reached the second symphony in D his knowledge had cleared considerably. Here he used the same orchestra (omitting trumpets and drums in the slow movement, however), but he handles all more firmly (notice the lovely tone of the clarinets playing the tune of the *larghetto* an octave above the bassoons), and his ideas are almost all of the kind which are most characteristic of him. In the long introduction with which it begins we may perhaps find a few mannerisms to remind us of Mozart's Prague symphony, but the big chords which punctuate it, the dignified oboe melody (the first one heard), the sudden leap away to the key of B flat, and the groping modulations which follow that impulsive moment, are all like nobody but Beethoven.

The *allegro* of the symphony in D is more exuberant than that of the first symphony. The insistent use made of the semiquaver figure in the chief subject ought to be compared with the piano sonatas in C and B flat (p. 163). The *larghetto*,

though without any of the tragic feeling of the greater slow movements in the early sonatas, is filled with deep melodic expression. The *scherzo* has no trace of suave minuet rhythm; it is all clearly cut, a piece of Beethoven's most pointed humour. The theme of the trio (oboes and bassoons) suggests the similarly placed theme in his ninth symphony, and the explosions of energy which begin the *finale* and are constantly striking across its course bring us face to face with a more imperious spirit than any which music had known before.

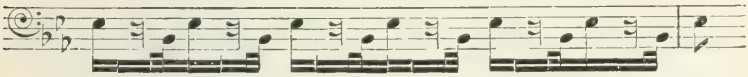
That spirit breathes still more freely in the 'Eroica' symphony. The will to command is over it all in spite of his anger at Napoleon's imperialism. It is this will in Beethoven himself which makes it heroic. We must not be led away by the attempt which has been made to treat it as programme music, to connect it with a series of events as Strauss's 'Ein Heldenleben' is connected. You will find that attempt in practically every annotated programme written for concert performances. People have wondered what the *scherzo* and *finale* could have to do with the hero since the slow movement before them is a funeral march, and Berlioz went so far as to make the quite silly suggestion that the *scherzo* represented funeral games such as those with which the Greeks celebrated their great men. Beethoven has nothing to do with any chronological statement of events. He is thinking as entirely in purely musical terms here as in the second symphony; the spirit of stern self-command may be just as forcibly expressed in the busy activity of a *scherzo* as in the stately tread of a march. You cannot get at the heart of it by explanations or making up stories about it, but by listening constantly you can gradually realize that it all expresses some aspect of heroic character, from the strongly swaying arpeggio of the first movement to the solidly built up variations of the finale.

People have been at great pains to explain these variations, but most of the difficulty has come by separating them from one another. Once realize their continuous progress from the dim fragmentary statement of the bass of the theme to its full presentment, and again through its many developments to its

triumphant *coda*, and you see that the whole is perfectly conclusive. Beethoven for once gives us his whole way of working in the finished product, his idea gradually coming from the rudimentary suggestions of the sketch-books into the full light. It is the growth of a soul.

The fourth symphony in B flat is on smaller lines than the two between which it stands. Both the 'Eroica' and the C minor symphonies plunge straight into the compelling ideas of the *allegro*. The fourth muses upon faint half-expressed ideas in a slow introduction before it gathers sufficient force to make the plunge. When the *allegro* does come it is radiant with happiness. The staccato quavers which are so strangely tentative in the introduction become crisp and energetic in the principal theme of the *allegro*. There are moments when the shadows return. One most striking one is the passage at the end of the development where a chord of F sharp major is answered by a soft roll of the drum on B flat, but joy is the dominant spirit. The slow movement is as fresh in melody as that of the second symphony, but more stately. As a point of orchestration the places where the drum maintains the rhythm

Ex. 25.



alone must be noticed and compared with the similar point in the first symphony (Ex. 24).

It is curious that Beethoven in his happiest moment recalls a breath of Haydn's style in the tune of the *scherzo*, and again, though less distinctly, in that of the *finale*. This symphony was violently attacked when it appeared for having every fault conceivable, yet now it is seen to be the most transparently clear of any, except perhaps the 'Pastoral', and the most free from that wrestling strenuousness which is found in the greater symphonies.

The fifth, however, remains the most popular, and it is the one with which most people begin their experiences of Beethoven's symphonies. The very strenuousness of its first movement gives

something which every one can feel at once. Never have four notes been so pregnant with power as those of its principal theme. Their rhythm is scarcely ever absent; they invade the field of the more reflective second subject, they are the motive power of the whole movement. The theme of the slow movement was the subject of as much careful sifting as was that of the concerto in E flat, but once found it appears equally inevitable. It gives the perfect repose between the strife of the first movement and the painful questioning of the *scherzo*. Beethoven had to seek peace, storm came to him unsought; but the search was rewarded in the sublime calm of these melodies.

As we have seen (p. 166), the *finale* comes as the solution of all the doubts and forebodings of the *scherzo*. In it Beethoven uses a larger orchestra than ever before. Three trombones appear for the first time in his symphonies, a piccolo (small flute) and double bassoon add a wider range to the wood-wind. Thus in a moment of triumph he comes into his full orchestral heritage.

It is rather a shock to turn from the blaze of this *finale* to the quiet, pictorial attitude of the 'Pastoral' symphony (see p. 158), in which the themes are almost naïve in their childlike simplicity.

In the storm movement he again uses the trombones and the piccolo, though merely for thunder and lightning effects; generally his orchestration is as simple as the themes. The storm, then, is a theatrical one, not the storm of a big character trying to express itself, and similarly in the other movements Beethoven is going outside himself in a way he seldom does elsewhere. One has here to accept the sequence of events in order to enjoy the music, and take up just the opposite attitude of mind to that which is necessary for the appreciation of the 'Eroica'. He is able to tell us in so many words what it is all about. The *allegro* represents feelings of pleasure on arriving in the country; the *andante* is a scene by a brook with the birds singing overhead; the *scherzo* is a merrymaking of country folk, then comes the storm, and lastly a shepherd's song of thanksgiving for safety after the storm. One must sympathize as Beethoven does with the simple ways of people who live near to nature if one is to get any pleasure from it, and be free from all priggishness and

conceit. That ought to be easy to young people, but it does not always seem to be so.

The pastoral feeling, though not the pastoral description, lives on into the great seventh symphony in A, in fact, elements from all the earlier symphonies (except perhaps the fifth), though not actual themes, seem to play a part and help it to sum up the work of Beethoven's maturity. Its introduction, though much more defined, recalls that of the fourth symphony, the dance tune on which the first *allegro* is formed has the open-air feeling of the 'Pastoral', though it is turned to busier uses than anything in the earlier work, the solemn march of the slow movement bears recognizable likeness to the spirit of the funeral march in the 'Eroica', and the *scherzo* has points of connexion with the fourth and even the second. In spite of the big plan it is noticeable that Beethoven does not use his big orchestra. He leaves out the extra instruments, and the extraordinarily powerful climaxes are not sonorous like that of the *finale* in the fifth symphony so much as rhythmic.

The seventh symphony has been called the dance symphony, but the description cannot convey much to us who are used to thinking of dance music as something particularly stiff and undeveloped in rhythm. Real dance music is that in which the rhythm throbs and grows more hypnotic every moment, till, like the tune of the Pied Piper, it compels every soul who hears it to dance to its measure. In that sense the *finale* of Beethoven's seventh symphony is the greatest dance ever written.

With these few hints upon the characters of the symphonies we must leave Beethoven and our sketch of the growth of music for the moment. It has been a long march from Haydn's experiments with a country orchestra at Weinzirl to the seventh symphony of Beethoven, and, without a Pied Piper to lead the way, it is likely that a good many who have tried to make it have fallen out on the roadside. But those who have come through to this stage must have noticed that as we get on in the development of the art purely technical matters fall into the background, till in Beethoven they seem to be swallowed up in his direct thought and the absorbing interest of his own mind.

Perhaps the consideration will encourage some to take a long breath and get ready for another long journey.

ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER VIII

[Beethoven's music may, of course, be illustrated in innumerable ways, according to the means at disposal, and the method of analysing and describing works before they are heard at concerts should be constantly adopted. The symphonies may be played as piano duets (Edition Peters, 9 and 10, 2 vols., 3*s*. 3*d*. each), and teachers should provide themselves with Payne's miniature scores, the price of which varies from 1*s*. to 2*s*. 6*d*., except the ninth, which costs 4*s*. For the special purposes of this chapter, however, the earlier piano sonatas will suffice to lay the foundations of appreciation, and they should not only be played through, but studied in the ways suggested in the latter half of this chapter as follows.]

1. Play the slow movement of the sonata in F minor (Op. 2, No. 1), together with that of Mozart's sonata (Peters edition, No. 8). Compare and contrast.

2. Compare the codas of the first movement of that sonata, the *finale* of the sonata in C minor (Op. 10, No. 1), the finale of the sonata in C (Op. 2, No. 1), the rondo to the sonata in E flat (Op. 7).

[A similar transition to this last occurs in the piano concerto in C minor.]

3. Discover, and invite pupils to find unexpected transitions and developments in other codas.

4. Play the slow movement of the sonata in A (Op. 2, No. 2).

5. Analyse closely the melodic construction of the slow movement of the sonata in E flat (Op. 7), showing how it grows out of the germ given as Ex. 22.

6. Contrast the slow movements of the sonata in D (Op. 10, No. 3), and of that in B flat (Op. 22) with the slow movements of the sonata in C minor (Op. 10, No. 1), and the Pathétique (Op. 13).

7. Compare the first movements of the sonata in C (Op. 2, No. 3) and the sonata in B flat (Op. 22).

8. Compare the first movements of the Sonata Pathétique (Op. 13) and the Sonata Appassionata (Op. 55).

9. Make similar comparisons between several *scherzi*, beginning with that of the sonata in C (Op. 2, No. 3).

10. Play the *scherzo* and minuet in the sonata in E flat (Op. 31, No. 3).

11. Play both sonatas of Op. 27 to illustrate modifications in the plan and the linking of the several movements.

INDEX OF NAMES

Albrechtsberger, 144.
Allegri, 45.
Arne, Thomas, 43.

Bach, C. P. E., 15, 21, 37; example from harpsichord sonata, 58, 60; style of harpsichord music, 62 et seq.; contrasted with Haydn, 67 et seq.; contrasted with Mozart, 75 et seq.; symphonies of, 81 et seq.
Bach, J. C., 43, 48.
Bach, J. S., Brandenburg concerto contrasted with Mozart's symphony in C, 9 et seq., 20, 32, 36, 53, 57; his influence upon C. P. E. Bach, 59 et seq., 89, 108, 131.
Beethoven, L. van, 15, 23, 55, 61, 65, 104; early life, 140 et seq.; early compositions, 144 et seq.; method and style, 147 et seq.; summary of principal compositions, 153 et seq.; *Fidelio* and its overtures, 155 et seq.; the piano sonatas, 160 et seq.; the orchestra, 168 et seq.
Berlioz, 170.
Boccherini, Luigi, 79 et seq., 85.
Boyce, William, 43.
Brahms, Johannes, 92, 98, 115.
Bridgetower, 154.

Cherubini, Maria, 134, 154, 155.
Chopin, 23.
Corelli, 13, 17, 18, 20, 24, 31, 57.

Dittersdorf, Karl Ditters von, 38, 79, 80, 116.
Duport, 24.

Esterhazy, Prince, 39, 54.

Geminiani, 17, 18, 41.
Gluck, Christoph Willibald, 14, 15, 38, 47, 62, 114, 117, 120; life of, 122 et seq.; description of *Orfeo*, 130 et seq.; later operas, 133 et seq.; his influence on other composers, 134 et seq.
Grétry, 14, 134.

Handel, 14, 21, 31, 32, 33, 40, 43, 55, 72.
Haydn, Joseph, 15; general style of quartet writing, 24 et seq.; early life of, 35 et seq.; meeting with Mozart, 49 et seq.; later life, 54 et seq.; example of recitative in quartet, 61; early quartets, 66 et seq.; quantity of composition, 79; comparison with Mozart, 83 et seq.; later works, particularly Paris and Salomon symphonies, 99 et seq.; choral music, 107 et seq.; relations with Beethoven, 143.
Haydn, Michael, 36, 37.

Kreutzer, 154.

Leclair, 34.
Lully, 13, 92, 116, 118, 121, 126, 128, 133.

Martini, 45, 109.
Méhul, 14, 134.
Mendelssohn, 84, 85, 113.
Metastasio, 38, 122, 124, 138.
Monteverde, 15, 31, 112, 149.
Mozart, Leopold, 41 et seq., 47, 50.
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, contrasted with J. S. Bach, 9 et seq., 21, 31, 35; early life of, 41 et seq.; meeting with Haydn, 49; end of Mozart's career, 52 et seq.; piano sonatas, 73 et seq.; contrasted with C. P. E. Bach, 75 et seq.; compared with Haydn, 83 et seq.; chamber music, 88 et seq.; symphonies, 90 et seq.; piano concertos, 97 et seq.;

church music and the *Requiem*, 107 et seq.; operas, 51, 114, 129, 135 et seq.; meeting with Beethoven, 141; contrasted with Beethoven, 145 et seq., 160.

Nardini, 34.

Palestrina, 12, 13, 14.
Pergolese, 110, 125, 135.
Piccinni, 47, 127 et seq.
Porpora, 38.
Puccini, 127.
Pugnani, 34.
Purcell, 14, 23, 57.

Rameau, Jean Philippe, 14; life of, 118; *Castor et Pollux*, 119 et seq.; influence on Gluck, 122; influence on Mozart, 129.
Reutter, 37.
Rossini, 116.
Rousseau, 126.

Sammartini, 122.
Scarlatti, Alessandro, 31, 63.
Scarlatti, Domenico, 13, 57.
Schubert, 150.
Schumann, 23.
Stamitz, 33, 81.
Strauss, Richard, 115, 170.
Sullivan, 115.

Tartini, 14, 18 et seq., 23, 80.
Tchaikovsky, 125.

Wagner, Richard, 15, 40, 113, 114, 130, 131, 133, 149.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY JOHN JOHNSON, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

LT 1001.780.9.C656 1912 pt.2 1913